

LETTERS FROM
GANDHI NEHRU VINOBA

Shriman Narayan

By the same author

SOCIALISM IN INDIAN PLANNING:

FOREWORD: BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

TRENDS IN INDIAN PLANNING:

FOREWORD: BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

GANDHIAN PLAN:

FOREWORD: BY MAHATMA GANDHI

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ONE WEEK WITH VINOBA

TOWARDS A SOCIALIST ECONOMY

SOCIALIST PATTERN OF SOCIETY

A PLEA FOR IDEOLOGICAL CLARITY

INDIA'S CURRENT PROBLEMS

INDIA AND CHINA

TRAGEDY OF A WALL

ON EDUCATION

FOUNTAIN OF LIFE



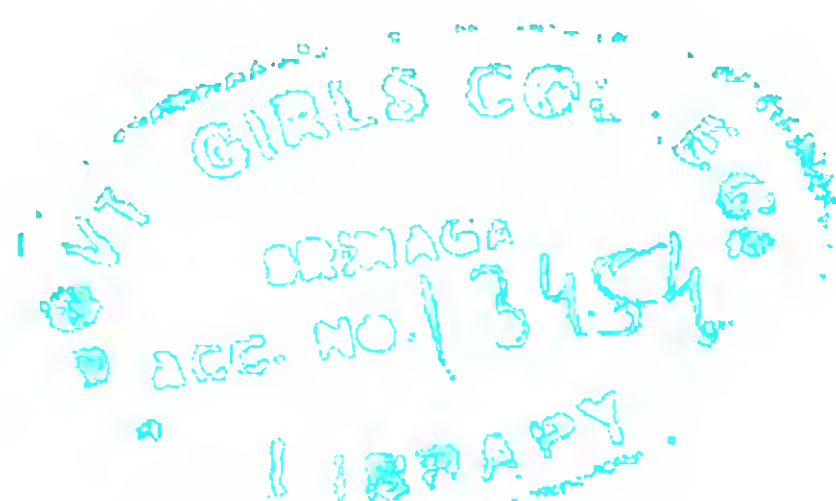
LETTERS FROM GANDHI NEHRU VINOBA

SHRIMAN NARAYAN



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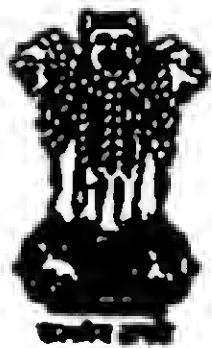
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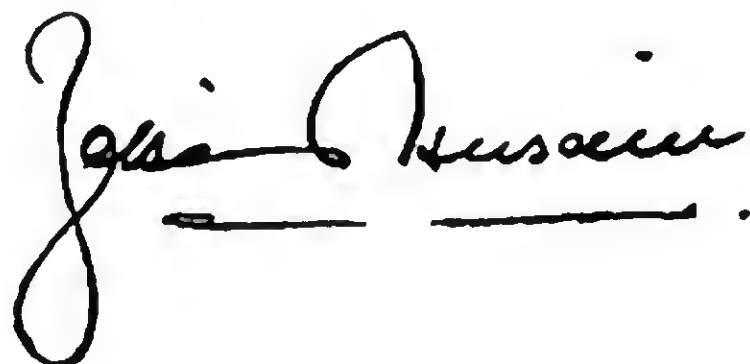


राष्ट्रपति भवन, नई दिल्ली-4.
RASHTRAPATI BHAVAN,
NEW DELHI-4.

May 21, 1968.

FOREWORD

Frankly, I was a little surprised when Shri Shriman Narayanji asked me to write a foreword to his publication named "Letters from Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba". I have always held the view that anything written by these great sons of India is so illuminating that a foreword is just redundant. I am, however, grateful to Shriman Narayanji for the opportunity given to me to associate myself with the publication. This meant going through the manuscript thoroughly and in this process I seemed to have rediscovered many new facets of these great men and benefited immensely by doing so. This also made it possible for me to have a newer insight into the personality of Shriman Narayanji whose friendship I have always cherished. For me^a reading of this manuscript has been of absorbing interest. I have no doubt it will prove equally interesting to the readers.


Jaswanth Narayan

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BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

I HAVE had the great privilege of coming into very close contact with three great men of modern India—Gandhi, Nehru and Vinoba. I possess a number of valuable letters written by them to me from time to time. These letters throw a flood of light not only on the life and thought of these noble and distinguished sons of India, but also on contemporary history and turn of events. This Volume contains selected letters from all the three eminent personalities.

Although I had seen Mahatma Gandhi from a distance several times during my student days, I had the opportunity of meeting him personally for the first time at Wardha in 1936. The late Shri Jamnalal Bajaj had kindly invited me to visit some of the Wardha educational institutions as well as to meet Gandhiji. I was quite hesitant to do so because the Mahatma was too great a man for me and I did not like to waste his precious time. But when I did meet him at Maganwadi in Wardha, I found him to be intensely human and affectionate. He gently smiled and asked me:

“Will you not work for me ?”

“Bapuji ! I will try my best,” I humbly replied.

Gandhiji made me feel quite at home in his august presence. I felt as if I had known him for ages. After a few days he asked me to take up the work of Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti as also the Secretaryship of the Wardha Education Society of which Shri Jamnalal Bajaj was the Chairman. Although this activity was quite new to me, I tried to discharge my responsibilities to the best of my ability.

In October 1937, I convened an All-India National Education Conference at Wardha on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Education Society (*Shiksha Mandal*) to discuss some of Gandhiji's radical ideas about educational reconstruction which he had been expressing through the columns of the *Harijan*.

On my request, Gandhiji kindly agreed to preside over this Conference which, subsequently, gave birth to the scheme of Basic Education in India. Unfortunately, I was down with enteric fever on the eve of this important Conference, and this caused considerable worry and anxiety to both Jammalalji and Gandhiji. But the Conference proved to be a landmark in the history of educational reforms in our country, and Dr. Zakir Hussain, now our revered President, who vehemently opposed the idea of craft-centred education at the Conference in the initial stages, became its greatest supporter and exponent. It is, indeed, a great tragedy that the basic system of education has not so far received a fair trial at the hands of the Government as well as the prominent educationists of India. It is a matter for gratification that recently the Education Commission has reiterated the urgent need for combining productive manual work with academic learning. I do earnestly hope that Gandhiji's ideas of 'learning through doing' would now be implemented by the Government and the educationists with a sense of urgency. Any further delay would be disastrous for the future of our socialist democracy.

I carried on my educational work at Wardha for several years under Gandhiji's inspiring guidance, first as the Principal of Navabharat Vidyalaya and later as the Founder-Principal of the Seksaria College of Commerce and Economics, where I was able to introduce the mother-tongue medium of instruction up to the graduation stage. During this period, I published a brochure on *Medium of Instruction* to which Gandhiji wrote a valuable Foreword. Soon after the 'Quit India' movement in 1942, my College was sealed by the Government and I, along with a number of my colleagues and students, was detained without trial for over eighteen months.

When we were behind prison bars, a few prominent Indian industrialists published an Economic Plan of Development which was popularly termed as the 'Bombay Plan'. I was much pained to read this Plan because it did not bear any imprint of Gandhiji's ideas and was published at a time when India was engaged in a grim struggle of life and death against British Imperialism. I, therefore, thought of writing another Plan in accordance with Gandhian principles and read voluminous modern literature on the subject in jail. Soon after my release

from detention in March 1944, I prepared a typescript entitled the *Gandhian Plan of Economic Development for India*. When Gandhiji was also released a couple of months later, I showed the typescript to him at Sevagram and sought his permission to publish it. He evinced keen interest in the brochure and discussed with me in detail several aspects of the Plan in the light of his own basic ideas. He was also good enough to pen a Foreword to the *Gandhian Plan*, which was first published in English and soon translated in almost all the Indian languages.

A year later, I prepared another brochure entitled *The Gandhian Constitution for Free India*, in accordance with Gandhian ideas of a decentralized democracy. Gandhiji carefully went through the typescript, made a number of suggestions, and again wrote a significant Foreword. Copies of the brochure were sent to several prominent members of the Constituent Assembly of India for their consideration. On my request, Gandhiji drew the attention of the Constituent Assembly members to the urgent need for making village *panchayats* the foundation of the new constitutional structure for Free India¹. It was, perhaps, as a result of this strong article in the *Harijan* that a Directive Principle to this effect was inserted in the Indian Constitution.

Along with my educational activities, I continued to work for the propagation of Hindi as the national language of India. Gandhiji was very keen that simple Hindustani, a fusion of Hindi and Urdu which could be easily understood by the largest population in the country, should be recognised as the *lingua franca*. Gradually, differences between him and Shri Purushottam Das Tandon on the subject became so pronounced that Gandhiji, ultimately, resigned from the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. In consequence, I also withdrew from the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti (under the Hindi Sammelan), of which I functioned as the General Secretary for about five years. After some time, Gandhiji started the All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha with its headquarters at Wardha. He was the Chairman of the Sabha and I was made its General Secretary. Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar functioned as its Vice-Chairman for many years.

We tried our best to spread the knowledge of both the Devanagiri and Urdu scripts among the Hindus as well as the Muslims in order to promote and develop a Hindustani style for the

¹ Please see Appendix (i).

national language. But when the talks of partition were going on in Delhi between the Congress leaders and the representatives of the British Government, I strongly protested to Gandhiji against the proposed vivisection of the country. I stayed with him in the Bhangi Colony for several days to personally request him not to support the resolution on partition at the All-India Congress Committee meeting to be held at the Constitution Club in June 1947. I pleaded with Gandhiji that if the country was really divided, the Hindustani movement would be the first casualty, and the Sabha will have to be wound up. I also wrote an article entitled *India Must Not be Divided*.² Gandhiji published my article in the "*Harijan*", but expressed his helplessness about the unfortunate partition of the country. He told me in a very sad tone: "Except Badshah Khan, all the Congress leaders have now accepted Pakistan in principle. I cannot create a new leadership in my old age. If I do not lend support to the Congress Working Committee at this critical juncture, there would be utter chaos and confusion."³ When the partition of India was finally accepted, I requested Gandhiji to allow me to resign from the General Secretaryship of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha. He did so very reluctantly, but wanted me to remain a member of its Executive Committee. I continue to be so till today, in token of my deep regard for Gandhiji's wishes in the matter.

It was, indeed, a golden chance for me to study Gandhiji's daily life and work at close quarters for nearly twelve years. He also very kindly stayed with us twice, in our cottage—*Jiwan Kutir*—in the College campus at Wardha, first in December 1944, and then in February 1945. It is common experience that familiarity breeds contempt. But, in the case of the Mahatma, the more I knew him the more I respected and admired him for his human as well as divine qualities. In the words of Dr. Albert Einstein, "generations to come, it may be, will scarcely believe that such a one as this, ever in flesh and blood, walked upon this earth !"

During this period, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru used to come to Wardha quite frequently to attend meetings of the Congress

² Please see Appendix (ii).

³ I have explained Gandhiji's point of view in some detail in an article, "*My last interview with Gandhiji*", Appendix (iii).

Working Committee. He also visited the Navabharat Vidyalaya and the Commerce College several times and addressed my students. But my personal acquaintance with him till then was rather distant as well as limited.

When I was elected a Member of Parliament in 1952, I took an active part in the functioning of the Congress Party and was soon appointed the convener of its Standing Committee on Planning. I could gather around me a small group of younger Congress M.P.s who were fired with some idealism for building up India according to Gandhiji's dreams. One day, I made a rather critical speech in Parliament when Shri Nehru also happened to be present. On the completion of my speech, Panditji went away to his office in Parliament House. Soon after, a peon came to me and said: "Sir, the Prime Minister wants to see you." I got frightened. I thought I had offended the Prime Minister by my critical remarks. A few seconds later, a member of Panditji's personal staff asked me to see the Prime Minister soon. As I walked towards his office, a third person rushed out and remarked that the Prime Minister was waiting for me. I was much perturbed and nervously entered Panditji's office room. Instead of an angry and agitated face, I found the Prime Minister, who was also then the President of the Indian National Congress, in a gentle and affectionate mood. He asked me to sit down and quietly said:

"Shriman, you, perhaps, know that Lal Bahadurji, who is now the General Secretary of the Congress, is joining the Union Cabinet as Railway Minister. I would, therefore, like you to be a member of the Congress Working Committee, and also help us as one of the General Secretaries !"

I was, indeed, greatly surprised. I had never thought of being the General Secretary of a great political organisation like the Indian National Congress with which I had been so far only remotely connected. I, therefore, frankly expressed my hesitation and diffidence:

"Panditji, I am not even a member of the All-India Congress Committee! I am not familiar with the work of the Congress organisation !"

"Surely, you must be a member of your Pradesh Congress Committee," the Prime Minister enquired.

“Not even of the District or Tahsil Congress Committee,” I smiled.

“But, you must be at least an active member of the Congress,” remarked Panditji.

“That I am, because I contested the recent Parliamentary election on Congress ticket !”

“That is quite enough,” observed the Prime Minister.

“You could be easily elected as a delegate, and then, a member of the A.I.C.C. in due course. Please begin attending the AICC office from tomorrow.”

So these were final orders for me, and I did work at the AICC office continuously as its General Secretary for full six years under Panditji's affectionate guidance. In connection with my Congress responsibilities, I had the rare opportunity of coming in very close personal contact with Pandit Nehru. I had also the privilege of winning his confidence in ample measure. He always listened to my views with appreciation, and I do not remember any occasion during the six long years when he seriously differed with me or expressed his displeasure at any act of commission or omission. I used to send him almost daily some papers and files at his residence in the evening and sometimes late at night, and I was as sure as about the rising of the sun that Panditji's replies would be received the next morning through a special messenger on motor cycle. The notes and instructions were often quite detailed and exhaustive, involving careful thought and far-reaching consequences. But Pandit Nehru never liked to leave a paper or a file on his table not disposal of before retiring to bed late at night. His promptness and efficiency were surely remarkable and, I presume, unrivalled among the statesmen of the world.

In his capacity as the Congress President, Panditji used to send me to different places to report on the condition of the Congress organisation in those regions. He had implicit trust in my observations and suggestions and took quick action. I was often asked to go, with full powers, to some States to get a new Chief Minister elected in place of the existing one against whom there were serious complaints and allegations. The procedures for election which he had evolved after long and rich experience were very simple but effective. He instructed me to hold election of a new leader on the spot in a full meeting of the Congress

Legislature Party, without giving any prior notice. I used to carry a small ballot box with me, ask every member to write the name of his choice on a piece of paper and drop it in the box. There were no nominations, no proposers and no seconders. I counted the ballot papers then and there in the presence of all the members. The understanding, from the very beginning, was that a candidate who secured lesser number of votes in this informal ballot would himself propose the name of the other person who obtained higher votes, thus ensuring unanimous election in the open meeting of the Congress Legislature Party. I did not announce the actual number of votes polled by different candidates; only some general expressions like "a fair margin", "a narrow margin" or "an overwhelming majority" were used. I, however, always took care to seal the ballot papers and bring them along with me for safe custody in order to avoid any possible controversies at a later date. This procedure proved to be quite successful because it avoided unhealthy and acrimonious canvassing, and, in the end, created an atmosphere of unity and goodwill within the Congress Party.

Pandit Nehru had great respect for Acharya Vinoba Bhave. Vinobaji also regarded Panditji as 'a man of destiny' and a great force for peace and non-violence in national as well as international spheres. I often tried to adjust Shri Nehru's tour programmes in such a manner as to enable him to meet Vinobaji at a suitable place at least once a year. Panditji was always happy to talk to Acharya Vinoba on a wide range of Indian as well as world problems. He was deeply impressed by his original and rational ideas. Vinobaji, in turn, had the opportunity of hearing from Pandit Nehru first-hand information about important problems which faced India within and without. With the exception of their last meeting at Navagram in West Bengal in 1963, I was present during the talks on all such occasions and tried to be of some help by supplying the required information or suggesting a new topic for discussion. A report about one of such meetings in May 1955 at a village 100 miles from Hyderabad is recorded in my brochure, *One Week with Vinoba*⁴.

During the Gauhati session of the Indian National Congress in January 1958, I requested Pandit Nehru to relieve me from the General Secretaryship of the AICC, as I had completed five years

⁴ Please see Appendix (iv).

and did not like to continue the same work too long. Panditji at once turned down my suggestion and remarked:

“I have functioned as the Prime Minister for more than ten years. Should I also retire and do something else ?”

A few months later, he called me one day and said:

“V. T. Krishnamachari⁵ is very keen that you should join the Planning Commission as a member !”

This was, again, a very unexpected news for me. I quietly replied:

“Panditji, about six years ago you had suddenly called me one day to take over the General Secretaryship of the Congress. I have tried to put in my best for serving the organisation during this time. Now, if my services are needed in the Planning Commission, I am at your disposal !”

I was asked to join the Commission from the 15th July, 1958. I worked at the AICC Headquarters till late in the evening on the 14th July. And, then, I went to Panditji's residence with the then Congress President, Shri U. N. Dhebar, to take leave from him as General Secretary of the Congress. Shri Nehru lovingly embraced me and observed:

“For many years, we have worked together in the Congress. From tomorrow, we will have a new relationship; you will be a member of the Planning Commission of which I am the Chairman !”

It was my good fortune to come in even closer contact with Pandit Nehru during my work in the Planning Commission. He used to attend our meetings very regularly and gave us sound advice and guidance in the formulation of India's Third Five Year Plan. Economic Planning was a passion and a mission with Nehru, and he always tried to find the necessary time for our work in the Commission, despite other pressing engagements. In 1961, I wrote a number of articles on different aspects of Indian Planning and published them in a book form,⁶ to which Shri Nehru wrote a brief Foreword. I wrote another book on Socialism⁷ in 1964, to which also the Prime Minister kindly wrote a

⁵ Shri Krishnamachari was the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission for several years.

⁶ *Trends in Indian Planning* (Asia Publishing House).

⁷ *Socialism in Indian Planning* (Asia Publishing House).

very valuable Foreword, only two days before his death. I was informed by his personal staff that Panditji, during his holiday at the Circuit House, Dehra Dun, spent more than one hour in reading through the typescript and, then, dictated the Foreword in the afternoon of the 25th May. On the 26th May, he reached Delhi in the evening and at about 7 p.m. a special messenger on motor cycle came to my residence to deliver Prime Minister's letter, enclosing the "Foreword". I was, indeed, deeply touched; it was so considerate of him to have found time for me even during his brief period of rest after illness. On the morning of the 27th May, I was very happy to read in the newspapers that after his return from Dehra Dun the Prime Minister looked healthy and cheerful. I wrote a letter of thanks and sent it to his residence, but before the letter could reach his hands, Panditji had passed into Eternal Silence.

It is often stated that Nehru did not believe in religion of any kind. It is true that he did not like to participate in religious rituals and ceremonies and was against denominational and sectarian creeds. Nevertheless, he was deeply interested in moral, philosophical, and spiritual principles and attached great value to them in personal, social and national life. In his Foreword to my book on *Socialism in Indian Planning*, which now happens to be the last public expression of his considered views on socialism and planning, Pandit Nehru emphatically observed:

"In India it is important for us to profit by modern technical processes and increase our production both in agriculture and industry. But, in doing so, we must not forget that the essential objective to be aimed at is the *quality* of the individual and the *concept of dharma* underlying it."

It is generally believed by people in India and outside that Pandit Nehru was not in tune with Gandhiji's ideas and was even averse to them. This is also based on misunderstanding. It is obvious that Shri Nehru did not agree with all the views expressed by Gandhiji, more specially on social problems like birth control etc. But I can state without any hesitation that Panditji had great faith in Gandhiji's basic principles of truth, non-violence and the purity of the means for the achievement of noble ends. While Nehru stressed the need for the establishment of basic and heavy industries in achieving a long-term and sus-

tained economic growth, he also underlined the vital role of cottage and village industries in securing fuller employment and decentralizing production in rural areas. In later years, during several meetings of the Planning Commission, Shri Nehru gave expression to his strong reaction against what he termed as 'giganticism'. He showed a definite preference for smaller schemes and projects which could achieve quicker results and provide gainful work to millions of idle hands. I have, therefore, always regarded Nehru as "Gandhi's great heir"⁸. He was a true Gandhian in the best sense of the term. The like of him we shall not see in India or elsewhere for a thousand years.

In the rare personality of Acharya Vinoba Bhave we see a rich amalgam of the ancient and the modern qualities of deep spirituality as well as an intensely scientific outlook. He was almost unknown to India and the outside world till 1940, when Gandhiji suddenly announced his name as the first *Satyagrahi* for leading the individual Civil Disobedience movement against the participation of India in the Second World War. Although Vinobaji was much younger to Gandhiji, the latter regarded him as his *guru* in philosophical and spiritual spheres. Prior to 1940, Vinoba had devoted most of his time to constructive activities connected with khadi and village industries in the Sabarmati and Wardha Ashrams. When I first met him in 1936, I found him to be very reserved and non-communicative. He was, at that time, fully absorbed in the study of Sanskrit scriptures as well as the Holy *Koran*, besides undertaking practical researches in the technology of hand-spinning and weaving. At the sight of visitors to his Ashram at Nalwadi and, subsequently, at Paunar, Vinobaji would turn his back on them and pursue his studies undisturbed. But, after Gandhiji's passing away, he came out of his sequestered 'shell' and plunged into active public work, first, for relief and rehabilitation in the wake of partition, and later, as the pioneer of the historic *Bhoodan* movement which has now flowered into a *Gramdan* revolution. Vinobaji has so far been able to collect, almost single-handed, about 45 lakh acres of land as free gifts, out of which over 13 lakh acres have already been redistributed among landless labourers who constitute the poorest section in India's rural population. In a *Gramdan* village, almost all the land-owners, big and

⁸ Please see Appendix (v).

small, transfer their proprietary rights to the village community and also donate a portion of their land to the landless peasantry. The latest phase of this revolutionary movement is *Zila-dan*, in which eighty per cent of the villages in a whole district accept the Gramdan ideal and work together for the socio-economic transformation of rural life. About 60,000 villages in India's countryside have so far responded to Acharya Vinoba's call for sharing their land and property with the community. To Vinobaji, *Gramdan* is not merely a social and economic revolution; it is essentially a moral and spiritual regeneration of humanity.

Pandit Nehru was also influenced by the Bhoodan and Gramdan movement of Vinobaji and attached great significance to it in the context of land reforms in India. He was fully convinced that these reforms could achieve lasting success only on the basis of voluntary transfers of individual rights in land through goodwill and community spirit. With a view to lending his support to this noble campaign of Vinobaji, Shri Nehru gladly participated in the All Parties Gramdan Conference held at Yelwal, near Mysore, in September 1957.

In the course of a message to an educational institution in Delhi in 1960, Vinobaji stated that the days of religion and politics were on the way out, yielding place to spirituality and science. Pandit Nehru had read this message in some papers and was greatly impressed by its depth and originality. He at once asked me to obtain its correct text in Hindi, which I promptly did. Nehru was so much taken in by this idea of Vinobaji that he repeated it in his public speeches in New York, London and Moscow, besides referring to it on many occasions in India. Another thought of Vinoba which had attracted Pandit Nehru's attention was to the effect that science without non-violence and spirituality would spell disaster. The modern age of science and technology had unleashed tremendous forces which, if not adequately controlled by man's moral powers, would lead to global annihilation.

I regard Acharya Vinoba as equal to the greatest *Rishis* India produced in the past. His study of ancient Sanskrit literature is phenomenal; he remembers thousands of verses from the *Vedas*, *Upanishads*, *Puranas*, *Mahabharat* and *Ramayana*. He is a notable scholar of the *Koran* as well. The late Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had testified to his faultless Arabic pronunciation in

the presence of Gandhiji in Sevagram. Vinoba is also a great linguist. He is well conversant with all the modern Indian languages. Among foreign languages, besides English, he is well up in French, German and Japanese.

While Vinoba moves from village to village on foot, and now by car also, preaching the gospel of truth, love, compassion and world brotherhood, he is fully in touch with current events in India and abroad through newspapers as also his transistor. He possesses original ideas on a wide range of topics, national as well as international. That is why Pandit Nehru was often drawn towards him to refresh his own thinking on several matters of importance. Once Panditji told me:

“Shriman, whenever I am in difficulty about a problem, I think of Gandhiji. But since Bapu is no more, my thoughts invariably turn to Vinobaji whom I regard as the best interpreter of Gandhian thought and tradition !”

And above all, Vinoba is not a visionary, but like Gandhi is a practical idealist. He has been trying to solve intricate problems of economic development like land reforms and fuller employment through the techniques of non-violence and community action. He has concrete proposals to offer about the lasting solution of the Kashmir tangle and the resolution of conflicts with Pakistan and China. One may not agree with his theses, but it is impossible not to be impressed by the depth and originality of his thoughts. Soon after his election as Prime Minister, Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri felt the urge to rush to Wardha to seek Vinobaji's advice and blessings in his new and onerous tasks. Shrimati Indira Gandhi has also met him once or twice to exchange views on current problems facing India. May Vinoba live long to shed light and inspiration on all those who have dedicated themselves to the service of the poor and the humble millions in India and other parts of the world !

In the end, I should like to express my gratitude to our President Dr. Zakir Husain for writing a valuable foreword to this Publication.

*Raj Bhawan
Ahmedabad.
1st June, 1968*

Shriman Narayan

LETTERS FROM GANDHI

(Original in Hindi)

Segaon¹
13.7.36

Bhai Shriman,

I could read your letter only today. I am not able to read all my mails as they come.

I am sending herewith your manuscript of "*Roti Ka Rag*"². Please return it to me after Kakasaheb³ has written an introduction for it. I had thought that you wanted my opinion only for your satisfaction. I do not know what I should write for being published in the book. Let me see what is possible. You can come to me whenever you like. There is no question of taking my time. Help in *Harijan* work as desired by Mahadev.⁴

Bapu Ke Ashirvad⁵

¹ The earlier name of Sevagram village.

² Shrimanji's first collection of Hindi poems.

³ Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar.

⁴ Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's Secretary.

⁵ Blessings from Bapu or father

Segaon
25.9.36

Bhai Shriman,

I have read your *Roti Ka Rag*¹. I have liked the poems. The objective is clear and noble. I am not competent to express opinion about the literary aspects; only poets can do that.

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

¹ This collection of Hindi poems was published in 1937 by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi, with an Introduction by Acharya Kakasaheb Kalelkar and a Foreword by the National poet Maithilisan Gupta.

Segaon
10.10.37

Chi. Shriman,

I heard only yesterday that you have been suffering from enteric fever for the last four days. How has this happened? Because of marriage¹? I had taken it for granted that you would

¹ Shrimanji was married to Madalsa Devi, the second daughter of Seth Jammalal Bajaj, on the 11th July, 1937.

never fall ill. I hope to get good news today. I am writing this letter at 5 a.m. after the morning prayers. Remember that I had agreed to convene and preside over the Conference² at your instance and with full faith in you.

I did not have the strength to shoulder such a heavy responsibility. But I accepted it because I was enthused by your enthusiasm. Don't betray me now. Be free from anxiety and get well soon. Did the burden of the Conference cause your illness? If that is so, then take the shelter of *Gita Mata* and become non-attached and care-free. In the end, whatever happens is because of God.

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

² All-India National Education Conference which gave birth to the Basic Education Scheme in India.

4

*Extract from a letter written by Gandhiji to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.*¹

Segaon

11.10.37

A.S. is still in Bombay helping her brother to settle their differences. She may return any day. Lilavati is almost in harness. Sushila, P's sister, came in on Saturday bringing fever with her. So she is in Maganwadi. Pyarelal is nursing her.

Shriman is down with typhus. I don't know what will happen to the Conference² now. It may have to be dropped. *He is a rare gem.*

¹ From *Letters to Rajkumari Amrit Kaur* by M. K. Gandhi, published by Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1961.

² All-India National Education Conference which was, subsequently, held in Wardha under the Presidentship of Gandhiji on the 22nd and 23rd of October, 1937.

5

*Copy of a letter written by Gandhiji to Shri Jammalal Bajaj*¹

Chi. Jammalal,

I have learnt about Shriman's fever. It is a bad and malignant fever. I expect to go and see him today. This I am dictating after the morning prayer. Mahadev and Kishorelal suggest to me to postpone the Educational Conference in view of Shriman's illness.

¹ From "To a Gandhian Capitalist" (Hind Kitabs), 1951.

It did not appeal to me. You must under no circumstances be saddled with the responsibility of accommodating a hundred persons. The expenses, I presume, will be met by you. I don't worry about them. But I believe that activities of this nature must not be undertaken if others cannot carry out the administrative tasks without your direct assistance. These tasks can be creditably performed only if others have acquired this capacity. I have, therefore, sent word to Aryanayakam that he should allow the Conference to be held only if he has enough of self-confidence and capacity to see it through, and that otherwise the Conference may be postponed. The idea originated with Shriman. I had wholly relied on him, and was free from anxiety so long as he was well. I had ruled out the possibility of his being ill. When, therefore, I heard of his illness, I got ruffled. *I have considered Shriman a most wonderful find of yours. He has in him an extraordinary amalgam of scholarship, sobriety and humility.* The Conference without his presence will be odious to me. But since task once begun should not be left incomplete, I have insisted on the Conference being held, provided Aryanayakam does not lose his self-confidence and you do not oppose the plan. Your opposition would be, to me, justifiable, for I have implicit faith in your judgment with reference to practical affairs. You alone are in a position to know best whether the Conference can be successfully held without you and without the use of your bungalow. If, therefore, you wish the Conference to be put off you will send me a telegram to that effect, and I will act up to it.

Bapu Kc Ashirvad

Segaon, Wardha
12th October, 1937.

6

Segaon
28.4.41

Bhai Shriman,

Your suggestion is a good one.¹ Rajendra Babu is coming here today. I will try to see what is possible. You may be knowing that Madalsa is making rapid progress in her health. She takes long walks and I do hope she will recover completely.

Bapu Kc Ashirvad

¹ Shrimanji had suggested to Gandhiji that the Congress should prepare a comprehensive brochure to explain its attitude towards the proposed creation of a separate State of Pakistan. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was, then, the President of the Indian National Congress.

Copy of Gandhiji's Foreword to Shrimanji's brochure on "Medium of Instruction".¹

Sevagram:
Wardha C.P.

Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal's treatise is timely and should go a long way in dispelling the fear and distrust about the possibility and desirability of giving the highest instruction through the mother tongue. For me it is tragic that such an obvious truth requires arguing. Although Principal Agarwal imbibed all that his ambitions could desire of the English language, he never allowed his love of the mother tongue to be displaced by his regard for English. He is, therefore, well equipped for the mission which he has made his own. I hope that he will not rest till the mother tongues in the various provinces have come into their own.

I have no doubt whatsoever that if those who have the education of the youth in their hands will but make up their minds, they will discover that the mother tongue is as natural for the development of the man's mind as mother's milk is for the development of the infant's body. How can it be otherwise? The babe takes its first lesson from its mother. I, therefore, regard it as a sin against the motherland to inflict upon her children a tongue other than their mother's for their mental development.

18.3.42

M. K. Gandhi

¹ Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad, 1942.

Silence Day
16.10.1944

Chi. Shriman,

Herewith my Foreword¹ or whatever you may like to call it.

¹ Foreword to *Gandhian Plan of Economic Development of India*, which was written by Shriman Narayanji or S. N. Agarwal, as he was called at that time, to place before the country an Economic Plan as an alternative to the 'Bombay Plan' published by Indian Industrialists. The 'Gandhian Plan' was brought out by Padma Publications, Bombay, in December, 1944 and was soon translated and published in almost all the Indian languages.

If you desire me to write anything else, please let me know. Despite my best efforts, I could not go through the whole typescript.

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

FOREWORD

Acharya Shriman Narayan Agarwal is one of those young men who have sacrificed a prosperous, perhaps, even brilliant career for the service of the motherland. Moreover, he happens to be in full sympathy with the way of life for which I stand. This brochure is an attempt to interpret it in terms of modern political service.

Acharya Agarwal seems to have made an earnest study of modern literature on the subject. I am sorry to have to say that I have not gone through the treatise with the attention it deserves. Nevertheless, I have read enough of it to be able to say that he has not misrepresented me in any place. There is no pretence at an exhaustive presentation of the implications of the Charkha Economics. It claims to be a comparative study of the Charkha Economics based on non-violence and the industrial economics which, to be paying, must be based on violence i.e. exploitation of the non-industrialised countries. Let me not anticipate the author's argument. I commend the treatise to the careful attention of every student of the present deplorable condition of the country.

Sevagram
16.10.1944

M. K. Gandhi

9

Sevagram
30.11.1944

Chi. Shriman,

Your letter. You need not write to Tandonji¹. I have received a copy of the resolution.²

¹ Shri Purushottam Das Tandon.

² This was about controversy regarding Hindi and Hindustani.

Kedarbabu's note is a good one. I am sending herewith a copy.³ I desire that Madalsa should take up this responsibility. If necessary, you can talk to Shantaben.⁴ I have liked the letter.⁵ I am prepared to meet all the teachers. But I should not be required to shoulder this burden. Owing to fatigue I wish to go on 'work fast' from the 3rd to the 31st December.

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

³ About the reorganisation of the Mahila Ashram, Wardha. Shrimanji was, for several years, the chairman of its Managing Committee.

⁴ The founder of the Mahila Ashram.

⁵ The teachers of the Ashram had addressed a letter to Gandhiji.

10

Sevagram
1.12.44

Chi. Shriman,

Your letter is very lucid and good.¹ We shall discuss this matter after the termination of my 'work fast.'² I fully realise the importance of your work in College.³ The work of students' organisation and the responsibility of the Mahila Ashram would absorb all your time. I will, therefore, try to relieve you, as far as feasible, of the work of Hindustani Prachar. Let me see what is possible.

Your health must be absolutely sound. Don't forget the duty of maintaining good health while doing national service.

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

¹ In this letter Shrimanji had expressed a desire to be relieved from the Secretaryship of the All-India Hindustani Prachar Sabha, Wardha.

² Gandhiji termed this period of rest as 'work fast', because he discontinued his normal routine and devoted most of his time to quiet reading and writing.

³ Shrimanji was the founder Principal of the Seksaria Commerce College at Wardha.

11

Sevagram
3.12.44

Chi. Shriman,

I have received your letter just now.¹ It is full of love from both of you. But I do not feel the need of shifting my residence for the present. Let me see how my 'work fast' proceeds. I will be happy to spend even some days with you. I hope you are well.

Bapu Ke Ashirvad.

¹ Shrimanji and Madalsa Devi had invited Gandhiji to stay in their cottage *Jivan Kutir* at Wardha during his "work-fast", for rest and change of environment.

Sevagram
25.1.45

Chi. Shriman,

The love of you both for me is indescribable. I feel like going to your place even for responding to your affection. It will not, however, be possible for me to leave Sevagram till the Training Camp¹ lasts. Silence in my 'work-fast' is quite helpful. But you can take it that I am again plunged into work. Nevertheless, I would be inclined to go to your place at a suitable opportunity.²

Bapu's blessings

¹ Training Camp for constructive workers in village sanitation, conducted by Kanu Gandhi.

² Gandhiji stayed at Shrimanji's residence from the 23rd to 25th February, 1945. During this period, he presided over the All-India Hindustani Prachar Conference in the Wardha Commerce College Hall.

Sevagram
6.3.45

Chi. Shriman Narayan,

I have made a few changes.¹ I need not explain them. I have deleted para 11. If necessary, it could be mentioned separately. Remember that we have firmly resolved to try to become a united nation. But even if we fail in this attempt, our struggle for *Swarajya*² will not be stayed. We should lift the question of language from that sphere. It is, of course, true that the fusion of two styles—Hindi and Urdu—would make for unity.

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

¹ Shrimanji had submitted a scheme to Gandhiji for the propagation of Hindustani.

² Political freedom.

ਪ੍ਰ. ੧੧ ਨੇ ਪ੍ਰ.

੨੩-੪-੫

ਪਿ. ਜੀ ਪਾਸਾ ਪਾਸਾ,

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Chi. Shriman Narayan,

Herewith a letter from Dr. Tara Chand.¹ Read it and let me have your observations.

I feel that the financial estimates are based on the Western type of work and are excessive. If we carry on this project in Wardha, we have all the necessary facilities. Printing can be undertaken by the Navajivan Press.

I think I have no authority to take a decision by myself. The scheme will have to be placed before the Executive Committee.²

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

¹ Dr. Tara Chand was an important member of the Hindustani Prachar Sabha and had submitted a detailed scheme to Gandhiji for compiling an English-Hindustani Dictionary.

² The Executive Committee did not accept the costly scheme submitted by Dr. Tara Chand. Gandhiji undertook to publish the Hindustani equivalents of many English words in the columns of the "*Harijan*" regularly for many months.

Question¹:

To my mind, one of the greatest problems confronting us at the present moment is that of combating the systematic plan of economic exploitation by flooding the Indian market with foreign consumer goods. This is bound to spell disaster to Indian industrialisation, whether small-scale or large-scale. And the pity of it is that our own businessmen and industrialists seem to be vying with one another in becoming glorified agents of foreign manufacturers. Don't you think, therefore, that an urgent need of the hour is the rousing of public conscience against the menace of foreign goods? I think the constructive workers should take up this programme immediately. A country-wide propaganda for the use of village-manufactured and *Swadeshi* goods can also prove to be a very effective "economic sanction" against foreign domination. What is your opinion and advice?

Answer:

The difficulty cannot be met by carrying on propaganda, however wide and intensive. The first thing is to demonstrate

¹ Shrimanji met Gandhiji in Panchgani after the publication of the "*Gandhian Plan*". He asked a question about *Swadeshi*, to which Gandhiji gave a written reply.

its economic fallacy. Let us recognise that the industrialists are not conscious traitors. They honestly believe that their Plan will bring prosperity to the masses. They are wrong. But how to show that they are wrong save by patient study and publication thereof and by working so as to show that the masses respond to the work and actually prosper ?

This demands hard thinking, hard study and harder constructive work among the masses. They have to manufacture for their own use. Just picture to yourself every village producing and manufacturing everything for its own use. This must mean some surplus for the cities of India going from the villages. This means also automatic stoppage of all exploitation and prosperity without India having to exploit the outer world.

16

On the Train to Calcutta
1.12.1945

Bhai Shriman,

I am sending you today your manuscript¹ and my Foreword.

I finished all this work last night at 9.30 p.m. During the period I could snatch some time only for meals and spinning. Please let me know if any alterations are required in my Foreword.

I have made two changes in the manuscript. If you do not approve of them, please discuss with me.

You will notice that I have left the Taluka and District Panchayats unspecified. They should be only advisory. Why should we give them a definite place in our constitutional system ? I am doubtful about their need. When the villages really become active and alive, the need for advisory bodies should automatically diminish. The Provincial Panchayats could discharge these responsibilities, and whenever necessary, enlist the cooperation of the Taluka and District units. If there is any error in this idea, please let me know. I have been able to go through the manuscript rather hurriedly.

It is for consideration whether Pakistan and the Princely States can have any place in my conception. Remember that a Gandhian Constitution could be feasible only if we reach that stage through non-violence.

Bapu Kc Ashirvad

¹ Manuscript of Shriman Narayanji's treatise entitled the *Gandhian Constitution for Free India* (Published by Kitabistan, Allahabad, Jan. 1946).

FOREWORD

Perhaps the expression "Gandhian Constitution" is not a fitting title for Principal Agarwal's pages. It may be acceptable as a convenient and compact title. The framework is really Principal Agarwal's, based on his study of my writings. He has been interpreting them for a number of years. And as he is anxious not to misinterpret them in any way he would publish nothing without my seeing it. This is both an advantage and a disadvantage. The advantage is obvious. The disadvantage lies in the reader mistaking the particular writing being my view in every detail. Let me then warn him against making any such mistake. If I were to commit myself to every word appearing in these pages, I might as well write the thing myself. Though I have endeavoured to read the constitution twice, with as much attention as I was able to bestow on it during my other engagements, I could not undertake to check every thought and every word of it. Nor would my sense of propriety and individual freedom permit me to commit any such atrocity. All therefore I am able to say is that the brochure contains ample evidence of the care bestowed upon it by the author to make it as accurate as he could. There is nothing in it which has jarred on me as inconsistent with what I would like to stand for.

The author was good enough to make such alterations as I thought necessary.

The word "constitution" must not mislead the reader into thinking that the author has made any profession to give him a complete constitution. He has made it perfectly clear in the beginning pages that he has only laid down broad lines to indicate what a constitution of my conception would be. I regard Principal Agarwal's to be a thoughtful contribution to the many attempts at presenting India with Constitutions. The merit of his attempt consists in the fact that he has done what for want of time I have failed to do.

M. K. Gandhi

On the train to Calcutta
30th November, 1945

Chi. Shriman,

Received your letter today. I am returning it¹ after making a very few alterations.

I am very happy to know that Madalsa is well. Tell her that I think about her everyday.

The news about my cold is meaningless. I had only very slight cold, but then I am a Mahatma !

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

¹ Shrimanji had sent along with his letter a scheme about "*Constructive Work for Students*." This scheme was, subsequently, published in the form of a brochure by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

At the Sodepur Ashram, 24 Parganas, West Bengal, Shri Shriman Narayan met Gandhiji on the 7th May 1947, and put him several questions regarding the British Cabinet Mission and Mr. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan. Gandhiji gave his replies in writing:

Shriman Narayan:

The British Cabinet Mission in their statement of May 16th last year had definitely rejected Pakistan. They had done so after patiently hearing all that Janab Jinnah Saheb had to say in the matter. The British Prime Minister, even in his latest pronouncement, has promised to stand by the statement of 16th May which rules out the division of India into two or more sovereign states. But now the partition of the Punjab and Bengal is being demanded by the people because they seem to be cowed down by recent communal disturbances and regard Pakistan as inevitable. Does this not betray a defeatist mentality ?

Gandhiji:

I have no manner of doubt that the demand for partition betrays frustration on the part of the Hindus. If there were no

cowardice, there would be neither Pakistan nor partition, because, from my point of view, both are wrong.

Shriman Narayan:

People admit that non-violence has succeeded wonderfully well against British rule in India. But they seem to feel helpless against the menace of organized communal goondaism. What concrete non-violent measures should be suggested for facing the menace ?

Gandhiji:

The same courses of action as were adopted against the British Government can be used today. It is a matter for regret that even after thirty years' experience we have not been able to comprehend the sublime power of non-violence. *Ahimsa* is the only weapon that gives man the strength to face the opposition of the world. I, therefore, fail to understand why the Hindus should be afraid of the Musalmans, whatever their number, and vice-versa.

Shriman Narayan:

What, in your opinion, are the main reasons for the withdrawal of British rule from India ?

Gandhiji:

One reason I know, viz., our non-violent strength¹.

¹ Gandhiji wrote this sentence in his own hand.

Chi. Shriman,

Received your letter¹. I have talked to Kakasaheb and Nanavati. According to your views expressed in the letter, it would be proper for you to resign the Secretaryship. But do remain a member of the Executive Committee and continue to do whatever you possibly can.

¹ Shrimanji had expressed a desire to resign the General Secretaryship of Hindustani Prachar Sabha as a protest against the acceptance of partition by the Indian National Congress. After the creation of Pakistan, Shrimanji strongly felt that the continuance of Hindustani movement would be a futile effort.

In my view, our work is not against anybody; it is complementary. Whether our work is liked or not, we should not mind. If our stand is correct, it would ultimately prevail. Urdu can never become our *lingua franca*; nor could Hindi be so, even if the Union Government puts its seal on it. That alone could be our national language which both the communities can write and speak.

I wish Madalsa good health. May Rasgulla² be restored to normal health soon.

The meeting of the Sabha³ may be convened in Delhi. But it will be difficult for me to reach there.

Bapu Ke Ashirvad

² Gandhiji used this affectionate word for Shrimanji's elder son Bharat.

³ Hindustani Prachar Sabha.

LETTERS FROM NEHRU

New Delhi
13.2.1953

My dear Shriman,

You sent me a letter that Hariharnath Shastri¹ had addressed to you about the labour situation in the Punjab. I have sent that letter on in original to Bhimsen Sachar, Chief Minister. I have separately written to Sardar Ujjal Singh² also.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

¹ The well-known labour leader who held responsible positions in the Indian National Trade Union Congress for many years.

² Now Governor of Madras.

New Delhi
March 11, 1953

My dear Panditji,

Before we meet tomorrow morning at your residence to discuss the situation arising out of the Praja Parishad agitation. I thought it proper to send in writing a few suggestions which might be considered by you. I personally think that there is not much cause for worry provided a few steps are taken quickly and effectively.

First, the Congress Party members, as mentioned by you, should be fully posted with all facts so that they may get an insight into the real situation. I personally feel that most of the Congress members do appreciate the Government standpoint although there may be a few who have some sort of 'sneaking sympathy' for the Praja Parishad agitation.

Secondly, we should try to informally contact influential members of other parties and groups in the Parliament with a view to weaning them away from the Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha members. They might be persuaded to issue statements and address meetings in Delhi condemning the so-called 'Satyagraha'. This will have a very good psychological effect on the general public. I feel that, if approached in the right manner, many members of the opposition will be prepared to support the Government point of view in this matter.

Thirdly, we should try to arrange meetings every evening in different parts of Delhi for educating the people about the dangerous implications of the Praja Parishad movement. Arrangements should be made for good publicity to such meetings in the local as well as all-India press. Some of us may contact, rather informally, the editors of some important papers in Delhi with a view to impressing on them the desirability of restraint and right perspective in the publication of daily news regarding the agitation.

Fourthly, a few Delhi papers, particularly Urdu dailies, which publish mischievous and poisonous news, should be severely dealt with in accordance with the existing Press laws. Of course, only one or two papers should be tactfully isolated so that their suppression may not lead to another agitation for the freedom of the Press.

Lastly, it is necessary to take suitable action against those Government servants who are found to be directly or indirectly involved in this agitation. A stern warning administered, specially to the subordinate officers by the various Ministries, will, I think, have a very salutary effect.

During the discussions on this topic in the Parliament, a few influential members of the Congress Party should be asked to emphasise various points against the present agitation. The Leader of the Party, of course, will speak at the end, but the debate should be arranged in such a way that it is not necessary for the leader to touch on all the points at length himself. He should be spared all unnecessary strains and stresses of the debate. The members of our party should be asked to remain cool throughout the debate and 'laugh at' rather than 'fret and fume' at the opposition. If we take some of the Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh leaders too seriously, a very tense situation is created and they get undue importance both in the House and in the Press.

These are only a few suggestions which I am placing before you for whatever they are worth.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN .

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

New Delhi
March 11, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

I agree generally with the suggestions¹ you have made and you might discuss these with Secretaries and Whips of our party.

There is a difficulty, however, in arranging meetings or having processions. These have been prohibited under Section 144. Of course, permission may be obtained, but I am not quite clear whether it will be desirable to ask for this permission.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

¹ Shrimanji had made several suggestions about registering strong protest of the Congress Party against American military aid to Pakistan.

New Delhi,
March 19, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of March 19. I shall gladly attend a meeting to discuss the *Bhoodan Yagna*,* but on the 29th March I shall be in Manipur. I shall be away from Delhi from the 28th March to 5th April or 6th April.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

* It was suggested that a meeting of Members of Parliament may be convened to lend support to Acharya Vinoba Bhave's *Bhoodan* movement. This meeting was held on the 27th March in the Constitution Club and addressed by Dr. Radhakrishnan and Shri Nehru.

New Delhi
March 20, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of March 20th about the *Bhoodan Yagna*.

We are having a conference of our Middle-East Heads of

Missions on the 26th. I am not sure of the time. I would prefer, therefore, to have the meeting on the 27th March, at any rate for me to attend. You can have it at 10 a.m. at the Constitution Club.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

25

New Delhi,
March 21, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your note of March 21 about the meeting at the Planning Commission Office on March 25th at 10-30 a.m. I am not quite sure if I shall be able to come, as we have got a conference of our Middle-East Ambassadors. But I shall try to come for a little while.*

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

* As the Convener of the Planning Committee of the Congress Working Committee, Shrimanji had arranged a joint meeting of the Planning Commission and the Congress Planning Committee for discussing various aspects of the First Five Year Plan.

26

April 18, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of April 18 about the *Economic Review*.* I must confess that I have found it difficult to find time to read it, though occasionally I have glanced through it.

I think it would be better for you to print it. It is never satisfactory to read cyclostyled matter.

Please do not ask me for a message. Every little thing adds to my burden and writing a message for the "Economic Review" should mean that I write something worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

* Shrimanji had suggested that the AICC *Economic Review*, instead of being published on cyclostyled sheets, should be properly printed as a standard fortnightly periodical. This suggestion was accepted by Shri Nehru who functioned at that time as the Congress President. Shrimanji, in addition to his normal duties as the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, was the Chief Editor of the *Economic Review* for six years, from 1952 to 1958.

May 13, 1953.

My dear Panditji,

I am sending herewith the manuscript of my brochure on *Constructive Programme for Congressmen*. There has been considerable demand for such a booklet from Congressmen all over India. It will, therefore, be proper to publish it as early as possible.

I would earnestly request you to kindly spare some time for writing a "foreword" to this brochure. I am always hesitant to encroach upon your valuable time, but I am making you this request because I feel that even a few lines from you would go a long way in changing the present atmosphere of despair and destructive criticism.

I intend leaving Delhi on the 18th evening for a two-week tour of South India. I will therefore be happy if you are able to find time to write a few lines by that date so that I may make all the arrangements for the publication of the brochure before I leave Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

New Delhi,
May 25, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

I have rather rapidly read through your pamphlet on the *Constructive Programme*¹. There are some parts which I would have preferred to have been worded somewhat differently. But I cannot go into these matters now.

The part dealing with *Goseva*, however, does seem to me to require redrafting, more especially because of the agitation for banning cow-slaughter which certain communal organisations have been carrying on. What you have written might be utilised to support this agitation. As a matter of fact, we have discouraged this agitation and only recently the Bombay State Assembly rejected a Bill brought by the Opposition on this subject. The

¹ *Constructive Programme for Congressmen*, was published by the All-India Congress Committee for the guidance of Congress workers.

whole question cannot be approached in a negative way. I think that the finest achievement in this respect is that of the Bombay Government who have put up the Aray Colony.

I do not know how far it is true that we do not care to patronise the products of the cow. People do not patronise them because they cannot afford them. There are vast numbers of people who would like to have cow's milk if they could afford it. For my part, I am entirely opposed to a complete ban of cow-slaughter. It is quite another thing to ban or prohibit the slaughter of milch cattle. It may also be possible for some States to go further, but any all-India measure of this kind, in a country so varied as India and with such entirely different customs, will immediately lead to trouble. Also, I repeat that the negative approach cannot be undertaken by itself and unless positive steps are taken at the same time.

I would have liked the prohibition chapter also to be somewhat differently worded. It is right to say that the loss of revenue should not be an argument. A social evil has to be prevented. The question is what is the best method of preventing it. It is obviously not a good method when it fails of its purpose by encouraging too much illicit distillation. We should approach the problem with the intention of giving effect to prohibition. But we should consider effective ways and means of doing so. Much experience has been gathered during the last few years and we can profit by it. I believe the Planning Commission intends appointing a Committee for this purpose². But again, I do not think prohibition is at all feasible in the tribal areas of the North-East.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

² The Planning Commission subsequently appointed a Committee with Shriman Narayanji as its Chairman.

New Delhi
June 29, 1953.

My dear Panditji,

I am herewith sending a report about my South India tour for your kind consideration.

I am also sending a copy of the *Constructive Programme for Congressmen*. I had received your letter containing some suggestions for redrafting a few portions and have redrafted the paragraphs as desired by you. The Hindi edition of the brochure will also be ready within a day or two and will be available to the members of the AICC at Agra.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
President, Indian National Congress,
New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

30

New Delhi,
July 15, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Thank you for your letter of July 15 sending me a cutting from the *London Times*. As a matter of fact, I get these papers here as well as important cuttings. In fact, important articles are telegraphed for our use. So you need not send me any cutting unless it has something to do with the Congress organisation which may have otherwise escaped me.

Do you get the daily *London Times* or the *Weekly*? The daily edition is frightfully expensive and it is hardly worthwhile.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

31

New Delhi,
July 22, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd July with summaries of the Evershed Committee's Report¹. Dr. Katju is dealing with this matter of legal reforms here and I hope that soon we shall have our proposals ready for consideration.

Please give my affectionate greetings to Vinobaji. Tell him that we are paying earnest attention in the Planning Commission to the question of unemployment. Tell him also that various

¹ The British Government had appointed a Committee for suggesting reforms in their Legal System.

recent tendencies in the country are very depressing, as they encourage the forces of disintegration and violence. One can see this in South India, in Calcutta and elsewhere. The Kashmir situation is also a very disturbing one. All these factors seriously interfere with our constructive activities.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

32.

New Delhi,
July 24, 1953.

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your letter. I will surely convey to Vinobaji all the points mentioned by you.

There is one more point that strikes me and I venture to place it before you for your consideration. The problem of Reorganisation of States can be solved only with the goodwill and co-operation of all sections of the public. A high-powered Commission consisting of mostly officials or judges will not be able to inspire full confidence in the people. It occurs to me that associating Vinobaji with the work of the Commission will be very helpful. If Vinobaji agrees, he may even guide the deliberations of the Commission as its Chairman; otherwise he could be associated with its work as member or Adviser. I do not know whether Vinobaji himself will agree to this proposal; but if you permit me, I may try to sound Vinobaji's reaction to this idea. I earnestly feel that his cooperation in this important work will be of great value.

You will, indeed, be very busy today on the eve of your departure to Karachi, but I hope you will be able to kindly send me a line just to indicate your wish in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

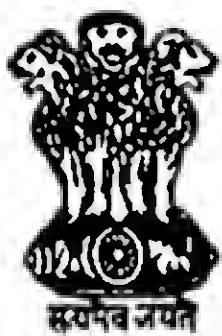
33

New Delhi,
July 24, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of today's date.

The work of the Commission for the Reorganisation of



CONFIDENTIAL.

No.577-P.M.

New Delhi,
July 24, 1953

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of today's date.

The work of the Commission for the Re-organization of States will be heavy work and I doubt very much if Vinobaji would agree to shoulder that responsibility. But it would be a good thing if you discussed this matter with him and asked him what his views were - as to how we should approach this problem. Also if he would have any objection to being associated with the Commission in any way.

Your approach will be entirely an informal one. Please speak to Vinobaji himself without others being present and ask him not to mention it to others. Otherwise it will go to the Press immediately and that will be bad.

Yours Sincerely
Jawaharlal Nehru

Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
2, Ferozshah Road,
New Delhi.

States will be a heavy work and I doubt very much if Vinobaji would agree to shoulder that responsibility. But it would be a good thing if you discussed this matter with him and asked him what his views were—as to how we should approach this problem. Also if he would have any objection to being associated with the Commission in any way.

Your approach will be entirely an informal one. Please speak to Vinobaji himself without others being present and ask him not to mention it to others. Otherwise it will go to the Press immediately and that will be bad.

Shri Shriman Narayan
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

34

New Delhi,
August 3, 1953.

My dear Panditji,

I returned to Delhi yesterday after meeting Vinobaji in Bihar. I was with him for three days and had long discussions over a number of problems, particularly relating to unemployment, Land Reforms and the Reorganisation of States. I am attaching herewith a separate note on Vinobaji's views on various problems.¹

As regards the Commission on the Reorganisation of States, I talked to Vinobaji in private. He was in general agreement with your policy in this regard and welcomed the announcement regarding the appointment of a high-powered Commission. He thought that it would be proper to appoint Senior Judges on the Commission so that they may take an impartial view of the whole question. But it was necessary to make the Terms of Reference very explicit from the very beginning. He felt that it should be made clear to the Commission that the Government of India wanted to solve this problem and not shelve it. According to Vinobaji, the recommendations of the Commission for the Reorganisation of States should be based on three considerations: (a) homogeneity of language, as far as feasible; (b) economic solvency, and (c) national security, specially for the frontier areas.

Vinobaji felt that it should also be made very plain to the people that once the recommendations of the Commission were accepted

¹ See Appendix "A".

by the Government, there should be no further agitation in the matter; otherwise the whole object of appointing a Commission will be defeated.

I asked Vinobaji whether he would agree to associate himself with the work of the Commission in some way or other. He thought that his association with the Commission in any official or formal way will not be very useful. But he was prepared to help you in this work in two ways: (a) If there was any special matter in which his advice was sought, he will be glad to help the Commission through informal discussions; (b) He will also try his best to create a favourable atmosphere in the country for accepting the recommendations of the Commission without any further agitation. He has already denounced fasts undertaken in connection with the creation of linguistic States. My discussion with Vinobaji in this connection was, I think, quite useful and if we keep him in touch with further developments in this regard, I am sure, his advice will be of great value.

I also met the Bihar Congress leaders at Ranchi. Badri Babu did not appear to be very optimistic about holding the delegates' elections afresh at an early date. He thought that even the preparation of new electoral rolls will take about three months. I have impressed upon him the desirability of completing the elections as early as possible. But, as the matters stand today, I am doubtful whether it will be possible to finish this work in less than three or four months. The Bihar P.C.C., however, is trying to do its best to speed up the holding of fresh elections.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

35

New Delhi,
August 3, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Thank you for your letter of August 3 and the note on your talks with Vinobaji. I have read all these with great interest.

What Vinobaji has said about the Commission on the Reorganisation of States has a great deal of agreement with my own thoughts on the subject. We shall keep it in mind.

As regards other subjects dealt with in your talks, we should discuss these matters in the Planning Commission and otherwise. I am afraid I do not wholly agree with what Vinobaji has said about

some matters. But undoubtedly what he has said requires careful consideration.

I am sending a copy of your note to the Planning Commission and to some of the Ministers concerned.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri S. N. Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

36

New Delhi,
August 4, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of August 4. I have separately written a brief note to you about planning. I agree that you should fix up some time to meet the Members of the Planning Commission. I am not quite sure if I will be able to come, but I shall try to come. You might get in touch with V. T. Krishnamachari.

I agree with your suggestion about the letter heads.¹

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

¹ It was suggested that the letter heads for dealing with the general public and foreign organisations should bear *Indian National Congress*, rather than *All-India Congress Committee*.

37

New Delhi,
August 9, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of August 8 about the talk you had with Maulana Masoudi.¹ Events in Kashmir have taken a new turn and your talk is thus rather out of date.

We have had nothing to do with the Press except to try to restrain it, but it is perfectly true that there has been a change in our attitude to Sheikh Abdullah for the simple reason that there has been a great change in his attitude towards India.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri S. N. Agarwal, MP,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

¹ He was then a Member of Parliament from Jammu and Kashmir.

New Delhi,
August 22, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

I think you wrote to me a few days ago about Delhi land legislation and how the Planning Commission had come in the way of ceiling being fixed on land holdings there. I wrote to the Planning Commission about it. I enclose copy of their reply.¹

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

¹ See Appendix 'B'.

New Delhi,
August 27, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 25th August. This question of a monthly salary for MPs has been discussed month after month and year after year. There are two definite views about it or perhaps more than two. The latest decision was that things should be left as they are. This question has been discussed both in the Executive Committee and full Party meeting. It has also been discussed in our Cabinet and with the Speaker and with other Members of the House. You could, therefore, hardly expect some quick decision to be arrived at. However, you can canvass and find out what can be done.

I would prefer longer hours in Parliament, but the hours you suggest, that is, both the morning and the afternoon, are not at all practicable. It will be quite impossible for Ministers to carry on their work and the staff of Parliament House will have to be doubled. I do not mind how long Parliament sits. But it should have one continuous sitting and should not sit both in the morning and in the afternoon. We now sit for only five hours. I think we should sit for six or seven hours.

You must also remember the many committee meetings which Members have to attend—The Estimates Committee, Public Accounts Committee, Select Committees. You can certainly discuss these matters in the Executive Committee. They have been

discussed before repeatedly. But the questions cannot be decided merely by the Congress Party.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri S. N. Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

40

New Delhi,
11th September, 1953.

My dear Shriman.

I am sending you a message.¹

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

¹ Pandit Nehru had been requested to send a message for the *Gandhi Jayanti* Day falling on the 2nd October.

MESSAGE

Many of us have believed in Khadi and worn it for a large number of years. It was for us the livery of freedom in the days of our struggle and at the same time something that put us on a level with the common man in India whose welfare was the main object of our endeavour. Our country unfortunately has suffered from multitude of castes. They still continue and bedevil our politics and our social life.

In addition to these castes of old, we have other divisions in our social life due to economic differences and to get rid of these has been and is our objective. The Constitution of India has emphasized this in its directive principles of policy. But that is a big question involving basic changes in our entire social fabric. We move in that direction no doubt, but the pace does not appear to be fast enough.

However that may be, there are some things which each one of us can do, and one of these is to put on and use Khadi and thus lessen at least the outward barrier of clothes that separates the well-to-do from the poor. Khadi at least brings an element of kin-

ship with the vast masses of our people. It produces an atmosphere of comradeship and common endeavour.

In addition to this it helps, to some extent at least, in tackling the problem of unemployment. I do not mean to say that this problem will be solved by our wearing Khadi, but we do help somewhat in this way and the consciousness that we are responsible for solving this problem of unemployment is ever with us.

This problem of fuller employment has become now a major problem of today for all of us. We have to tackle it on a multitude of fronts. But it is becoming increasingly recognised that a major way of tackling it is by the encouragement of village and small-scale industries.

Khadi is one of our principal village industries and Khadi is a symbol also not only of the freedom that we sought and that we have won, but of that kinship of spirit and removal of barriers among all our people which is so important.

Therefore, let us wear and use and encourage in every way Khadi. This applies to all of us, whatever our grade or function might be and whether we are officials or non-officials.

More especially, let us do this on this anniversary which brings such a host of memories to us—Gandhi Jayanti Day.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

*New Delhi,
11th September, 1953.*

41

September 17, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Please see the attached letter.¹ I rather hesitate to send messages for these local elections. But if you think it is all right, you can write sending on my behalf my good wishes generally.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

¹ A Congress worker had requested for a message from Shri Nehru, the then Congress President, for a by-election to the local State Legislature.

New Delhi,
September 17, 1953.

My dear Panditji,

I had a long talk with Jayaprakashji last night. We discussed a number of problems including the formation of a stable Ministry in Andhra. Jayaprakashji told me that he intended writing you a letter in that connection. I do not know whether he could do so before leaving for Patna this morning. He earnestly felt that Shri Prakasam should not be asked to join the Congress if he was thought fit otherwise to become the Chief Minister of the new Andhra State. He also felt that it may be desirable to call Kripalaniji for a personal talk before taking any final decision in the matter. The position of the Travancore-Cochin Ministry is also very uncertain. A personal discussion with Kripalaniji may help in finding some solution for Travancore-Cochin on the basis of a coalition between the Congress and the P.S.P.

Jayaprakashji told me that he was still of the opinion that in order to achieve substantial results in the economic development of India some kind of a coalition between the Congress, P.S.P. and other democratic parties would be desirable. It is true that Coalition Governments were generally formed only in the case of national emergencies when the party in power did not command an absolute majority. He, however, felt that in an underdeveloped country like India the party system of Government was not very suitable for achieving quick results. Just as the Communists try to forge United Fronts for establishing a dictatorship, so the democratic parties of a country may try to secure some kind of a United Front for speeding up social and economic progress and checking the trends towards totalitarianism. Jayaprakashji thought of writing an article on the subject to clarify his views. But he has dropped this idea for the present lest he might be unnecessarily misunderstood. He might have perhaps talked to you about this matter himself, but he was sorry it was not possible for him to do so this time.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

September 17, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of today's date. I am afraid I cannot possibly find any time to have a talk with Kripalaniji till at least the Working Committee is over. Indeed the very next day, that is Monday, I am going to Pilani. I suggest that you and Balvantray might have a talk with Kripalaniji and later I could meet him.

I had a very brief letter from Jayaprakash last night.

I do not agree with him about his advice regarding Prakasam. Prakasam of course had agreed to my proposal and thought it generous. So far as I know, he had consulted Kripalaniji at the time also, who had raised no objection. It is now for Prakasam to decide.

As regards the Travancore-Cochin Ministry, it will certainly be desirable to discuss this with Kripalaniji. Perhaps Damodaran and others might be interested also.

As for Jayaprakash's proposal for some kind of a coalition between Congress, P.S.P and other parties, in theory there may be something in it. But in practice, I fear this will lead to difficulties. My last attempt at something of this kind led to unfortunate results. What are the other "democratic parties?"

I am always prepared to discuss these matters. But one should be careful not to land oneself in a morass.

You might discuss this with Balvantray. I rather think that we should not bring it before the Working Committee, as that will give it undue publicity.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri S. N. Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

New Delhi,
November 14, 1953.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of November 14. Provisionally I hope to go to Wardha on the 3rd January. I am being asked to inaugurate a Conference of Primary Teachers in Nagpur on that day. Will

it be possible for me to have these two functions—one at Wardha and one at Nagpur? I could perhaps have the second function on the morning of the 4th and then leave Nagpur for Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

45

December 15, 1953.

My dear Panditji,

The Congress Working Committee had appointed a Planning Sub-Committee to keep in touch with the progress and implementation of the Five Year Plan. We had two joint meetings with the members of the Planning Commission, one of which was attended by you also. I think it will be better if we are able to have one more joint meeting with the Planning Commission before the present session of Parliament closes on the 24th December. We would very much like you to be present at this joint meeting, even though only for a short time. I shall be much obliged if you kindly let me know the date and time that will be convenient to you between the 22nd and 24th December. I have consulted Shri V. T. Krishnamachari and other members of the Planning Commission. Any date between the 22nd and 24th December will suit them.

We are planning to publish a Special Number of the *Economic Review* and the *Arthik Sameeksha* on the occasion of the 59th Session of the Congress at Kalyani. I shall be much obliged if you kindly find some time to write a special message for Congressmen which we might publish in the Special Number of the *Economic Review*.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

46

February 18, 1954.

My dear Panditji,

You must have read in the papers about a recent incident which took place in Aligarh. Shri Vichitra Narain Sharma, Minister of Transport, U.P., attended a tea party given by a dacoit, who was

arrested by the Police immediately after the party was over. This has created a very bad impression in the public. There is a general feeling that Ministers and high officials of the Government attend too many parties at private residences during their tours. Instead of staying at the Circuit Houses or Dak Bungalows, some of them also stay at private places. This gives cause for considerable gossip and unnecessary jealousies. In fact, some of us did not like our Ministers and Chief Ministers staying in Calcutta at the Dalmia House or the Birla Park during the Kalyani Session. Even in Delhi, there are too many Parties and Receptions, which create a bad impression among the people. The wave of resentment against the Governors' Party at Allahabad during the Kumbh Mela is an expression of general dissatisfaction with the system of holding so many parties.

May I humbly suggest that a few definite instructions in this regard should be issued to all the Ministers as well as high Government officials so that there may not be unnecessary cause of public resentment? This is just for your kind consideration.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

47

March 11, 1954.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of March 10.

I have promised to go to Chidambaram in the far south on the 17th and 18th April. It seems difficult and doubtful that I will be able to go to Gaya.¹ Apart from this, and though I would like to go there, my visit at such a juncture does not give much chance of a talk with anyone.

I entirely agree that there should be better understanding between the Congress, the P.S.P and the constructive workers.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri S. N. Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

¹ Shrimanji had suggested to Pandit Nehru that he might attend the All-India Sarvodaya Conference at Gaya and also meet Acharya Vinoba there.

New Delhi,
March 13, 1954.

My dear Shriman,

I have looked into the question of going to Gaya. There is only one possibility and that is, my arriving there on Sunday, 18th April, at about 3 p.m. (that is, at the airport) and leaving at 7-30 next morning, 19th April. I have to be here on Monday and Dr. Radhakrishnan, who will be with me, is particularly anxious to be here in good time on Monday.

I do not know where the Sarvodaya Conference is being held, that is, how far from the aerodrome. Anyhow, we can spend the afternoon and evening at Gaya. Do you think this programme would be suitable? If so, I shall write to Vinobaji accordingly.

There is always one difficulty, the thought of which disturbs me. Whenever I go to any place, all kinds of security arrangements are made and these come in the way of others. In fact, it is because of this that I have avoided going to these conferences.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri S. N. Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

May 14, 1954.

My dear Panditji,

At the last meeting of the Working Committee we paid special attention to the problems of Language and Prohibition. It is gratifying to know that our resolutions on these subjects have had a very good response from all sections of the people in the country.

In the course of your concluding remarks to the members of the Working Committee last time, you had sounded a note of warning. You wanted us to think radically about various economic problems and try to get out of the 'ruts'. I earnestly feel that the forthcoming meetings of the Congress Working Committee on the 22nd and 23rd May should concentrate on economic problems,

and, if necessary, adopt one or two resolutions in concrete and specific terms. I suggest, we should specially discuss this time (1) the Land Policy; (2) the Industrial Policy, particularly in regard to the demarcation of spheres of large-scale, small-scale and village industries; and (3) Import Policy.

If you agree, I may prepare a note on the subject for the consideration of the Working Committee. I will, of course, send the note to you for approval before circulating it to the members.

Yours sincerely,
Sd: SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

50

July 14, 1954.

My dear Shriman,

I find from the newspapers that you have emphasized the significance of the next meeting of the AICC and have, in particular, referred to a definite economic programme relating to land, industries, etc. You have referred to the demarcation of spheres of production of different types of industries and to the fixation of ceilings on land.

It seems to me that it is better for us not to say much about what we are going to do because then expectations are raised high and criticisms follow. Our general policy is clear enough, but any precise definition or details, say in regard to ceilings or about demarcation of industry, raise very difficult problems, as conditions differ in various parts of the country. The Planning Commission is also seized of these matters and it will not be desirable for us to say something which is opposed to the Plan.

But my main point is that we should not say too much before a meeting. It is after the meeting that we should lay stress on what has been done.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.



September 20, 1954.

My dear Shriman,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your two letters of September 10th. One of these dealt with educational reconstruction; the other about the communal question.

About education, there can be no harm in our discussing this matter in the Working Committee. I feel, however, that these rather hurried discussions in the Committee do not take us far except in so far as they help to clear our own minds. The matter has been considered by all kinds of commissions and committees. The Planning Commission has given much thought to it. Our Cabinet has considered it from time to time. In a sense it might be said that there is a large measure of agreement, although there is often difficulty in implementing our own proposals.

However, it will be a good thing if you wrote a note on it which we could consider.

Regarding your proposal to meet Congress MPs representing minorities, certainly this can be done from time to time informally. Probably it would be better for such meetings to consist also of some others from provinces where this question has become acute.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

October 13, 1954.

My dear Shriman,

I should like to see you for a short while tomorrow just to discuss one or two Congress matters. But, unfortunately, I am not quite well this evening and I am not sure how I would feel tomorrow.

In particular, I am rather worried about the Delhi elections, that is the Congress elections, which will apparently begin early in November. Everything connected with Delhi is a ticklish business. Borooah is not here. I should have liked Malliah to look after them, but I do not know if he will be here either.

There is a feeling among some people in Delhi that the AICC office has not been quite fair to them. That feeling is, I think,

without justification but I want to avoid even a feeling of that kind.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

53

November 9, 1954.

My dear Panditji,

I was with Vinobaji for three days early this month. In fact, I proceeded to Darjeeling from his camp in Purnea district in Bihar. He asked me to convey to you his *pranams* after your return from China.

During my stay with Vinobaji important members of the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board and of the Sarva Seva Sangh also met him. I was keen that the members of the Board and the Sarva Seva Sangh should cooperate fully in order to strengthen the work of Khadi and Village Industries. Although some members of the Board were not very enthusiastic about their work and were much dissatisfied with the attitude of Shri T. T. Krishnamachari, Vinobaji took a very rational attitude and asked the members to cooperate with the Government in furthering the cause of Khadi and Village Industries.

Incidentally, Vinobaji talked to me about your letter to the PCC Presidents. He asked me to convey to you his feelings of satisfaction in regard to the contents of the letter. He was of the definite view that if you step out of the Government, even for some time, it will have a very healthy effect on the country, the Government as well as the Congress. He had no doubt in his mind that such an action on your part would enable you to play your part much more effectively in the national and international sphere.

I happened to meet Jayaprakash Narayan in Vinobaji's camp. He also welcomed your views expressed in the letter to the PCC Presidents. I asked him the exact implications of his *Jeevandan*. He told me that he had finally decided not to hold any office in the P.S.P. or in the Government. Although he will be attending the Nagpur Convention of the P.S.P. he has decided

not to take any active part in party politics. In fact, he may resign from the P.S.P. after the Nagpur Convention.

I will be leaving for Saurashtra on the 11th night to attend the All-India Basic Education Conference. I did convey to Shri Aryanayakam as well as Vinobaji your feeling about the letter that Asha Devi wrote to Bibi Amtus Salam about her participation in Community Project work. Vinobaji was much pained to hear about it.

From Saurashtra, I propose to go to Poona to attend the All-India Constructive Workers' Conference on the 17th November. I will address the Conference on the 18th November and hope to return to Delhi on the 19th November.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

54

November 22, 1954.

My dear Panditji,

I understand that attempts are being made to upset the decisions of the Congress members of the Select Committee on Company Law Amendment Bill, particularly in regard to the Managing Agency system. These decisions were reached after full consideration of all the points connected with this problem. Several of us, including Shri Khandubhai Desai, met Shri C. D. Deshmukh¹ twice and discussed the whole question threadbare. The conclusions arrived at were in the nature of a compromise and are not very radical at all. Now, if even these decisions are modified and diluted it will create a very unfavourable impression about the Congress Party. In fact, some of us earnestly feel that the Managing Agency system must be abolished completely. We have done away with feudalism in land; the Managing Agency system is, to my mind, in the nature of feudalism in industry and there is no reason why it should also not go. However, the Congress members of the Select Committee have agreed to retain the system in a limited form, and I earnestly hope that these decisions will not be disturbed. If very necessary, some of the points

¹ The then Finance Minister.

may be discussed in the Executive Committee of the Congress Parliamentary Party.²

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

² It was, subsequently, decided by the Congress Parliamentary Party to go ahead with the Company Law Amendment Bill as originally envisaged.

55

7 Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi,
26th November 1954.

My dear Shriman,

Your note and the cutting from the *Dawn* about M. I really do not know what to do about it. I think she has done us a great deal of harm and I have told her so very pointedly and clearly.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri S. N. Agarwal,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

56

December 2, 1954.

My dear Panditji,

We were all very happy to hear your great and memorable speech this evening before the Congress Party. I am sending herewith two articles that I recently wrote in the *Economic Review*, more or less, on the same lines.

Perhaps you would like to know some details about the meeting of prominent industrialists with Congress members of the Select Committee on Company Law last evening. The following industrialists were present: Shri J. R. D. Tata, Shri G. D. Birla, Shri H. P. Mody, Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai and Lala Shri Ram. Shri Mody spoke for about half an hour pleading for the retention

of the Managing Agency system. Shri Tata, Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai and Lala Shri Ram did not speak much except for some casual remarks. Shri G. D. Birla tried to prove that the Managing Agency system had served a very useful purpose and could still be of considerable utility in promoting the industrial development of the country. Frankly speaking, Shri Birla's remarks created an unfavourable atmosphere and his whole approach appeared to be very conservative. Several members put questions to the industrialists seeking clarification of some points made by them. The industrialists could not give convincing answers to most of them. In short, all the arguments advanced by the industrialists failed to carry conviction. In the end, I briefly stated the economic policy of the Congress as incorporated in the Ajmer resolution of the AICC. Our aim was not only to increase production but also to provide fuller employment and secure greater social and economic justice. It was against this background that the question of the Managing Agency system was being considered by the Congress Party. I appealed to the industrialists for their cooperation in achieving these objectives. Shri H. P. Mody appeared to be very nervous and perplexed, although the proposals that are being considered by us are by no means radical. I am confident that the scheme as framed by Shri C. D. Deshmukh after our discussions with him is in the nature of a compromise and we should not dilute it any further.

May I express my apprehension about one point regarding the proposed Russian Steel Plant : I understand that the payment to Russia is to be made in rupees. Such a kind of payment is likely to be abused by the Russian Government for financing Communist activities in India. While submitting my report on Travancore-Cochin affairs, I had written to you how the Communist Party was receiving ample funds from the import and export trade between India and Russia. Considerable amount of money is also earned by the Communist Party out of sales of free literature obtained from Russia. I am, therefore, confident that the Government of India would consider this point fully before finalising terms about the Steel Plant.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

New Delhi,
April 8, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of today. I mentioned this matter to Dhebarbhai¹ also.

I am going to the Soviet Union at the express invitation of the Soviet Government, which is extended to me and to my daughter and such staff as I might take. I am taking a very small official staff with me. I rather doubt if it would be advisable to add any Member of Parliament to it, more especially the General Secretary of the Congress. This will give another tinge to my party. Quite a large number of M.Ps have suggested that they might go with me, and I have had to say 'no' because of the special circumstances of my visit.

It would be a very good thing if you could go there and study some of the planning and other things done in the Soviet Union. Going with me, you will certainly see the reception etc. but will not have much chance of seeing much else, because my visit will be rather a rush affair. I think it would be better if you went on some other occasion or, at any rate, not with me. There will be no difficulty in fixing this up whenever you want to go.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan M.P.,
2, Ferozeshah Road,
New Delhi.

¹ The then Congress President.

April 30, 1955.

My dear Panditji,

I understand that the Spirituous Preparations (Inter-State Trade and Commerce) Control Bill is not being taken up by the Lok Sabha during the next few days. I personally think that this Bill is very important because the Governments of Bombay and Madras have been facing very great difficulty in regard to the import of spirituous preparations in huge quantities. During my recent visits to Bombay and Madras in connection with

the Prohibition Enquiry Committee, I found that it was absolutely essential to restrict the import of such spirituous preparations in order to make prohibition a success.

I would earnestly request you to kindly get this Bill passed before the Parliament adjourns on the 7th May. I had a talk with Shri T. T. Krishnamachari in this connection and he also strongly feels that high priority should be given to this Bill.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Leader,
Congress Party in Parliament.

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New Delhi,
April 30, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter about the Spirituous Preparations Control Bill.

I would very much like this Bill to be passed but I cannot create time. After great difficulty I managed to persuade the Speaker in the House yesterday to extend the sittings every day so that we might be able to take up the Hindu Succession Bill for reference to the Joint Committee. Even now it is difficult to find enough time for it and we shall probably have to sit till fairly late on some days. Also, I have had to give up the idea of going to Berhampur on the 7th May as I intended. I shall now leave on the 8th early morning.

It is thus not at all feasible to find any time, however little, for any other measure during this session.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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New Delhi,
April 30, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 29th about Tukdoji Maharaj¹ going to Japan. We know nothing about this proposed Congress at Shimizu in Japan and, therefore, find it difficult to advise. If Tukdoji

¹ Tukdoji Maharaj is a renowned saint and social worker of Maharashtra.

Maharaj feels like going to Japan on this occasion, there is no harm in it and he can do so. On the other hand, this Congress may not be particularly important or worthwhile.

In Japan today there is great mental ferment and a surge after something. Their defeat in war, for the first time in history, and their subsequent existence largely under the American auspices, which of course they dislike intensely and yet with which they put up, has shaken them up thoroughly. There are all kinds of movements.

If Tukdoji Maharaj goes there, it should be entirely of course in his unofficial capacity. We would put him in touch with our Embassy there.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

61

New Delhi,
May 18, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

I am enclosing a paper called "Freedom First", which is issued by the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom. This Committee is an American-organised Committee trying to put across the American viewpoint. I am drawing your attention to this because this Committee has drawn into its fold a number of prominent members of the P.S.P. Masani has been a very important member of it. Jayaprakash once wrote to me in its favour. You will see that Jayaprakash is quoted in this in connection with our second Five Year Plan.

Professor Mahalanobis's plan frame as well as our Economists' Note on it is severely criticised in this on the ground that all this savours of Communism. Jayaprakash is quoted as having said that the seven authors of Pandit Nehru's Second Five Year Plan are all men from behind the Iron Curtain.

There were no seven authors of the Plan. There are about 25 plus the whole Economic Section of the Planning Commission. There were certainly some Russian Planners of experience and note and a number of others who have nothing to do with Russia and Communism, but everybody is dubbed a Communist in this publication. According to American habit, anyone who does not fit in with the American pattern must be a Communist.

You will see from various articles in this paper how much what we have been doing is criticised including the amendment of the Constitution. Dr. J. C. Ghosh who has recently come to the Planning Commission is also dubbed a leftist. V.K.R.V. Rao is pro-Communist and so on. The right to property is said to be one of the sacred rights which must not be touched.

What I am worried about is the attitude of many prominent socialists in this connection. In their antagonism to Communism, they easily fall into the American trap. Instead of considering and criticising carefully the memorandum prepared by the Panel of Economists of the Planning Commission (which consisted of some of our best economists under the Chairmanship of Professor D. R. Gadgil), a scare is raised about Communism and our socialist friends easily fall in line. They say that the Congress brand of socialism is not socialism at all. What exactly the P.S.P's brand is more than I know.

I am writing to you so that this aspect might be brought before Dhebarbhai and in a general way even before Vinobaji. In the international field today India's policy is well known to be of non-alignment. The Socialists also talk of India having an independent policy, but in effect they incline towards the American group.

Vast sums of money are being spent in India by various organisations run by the Americans and quite a number of newspapers get help from them in various ways, more especially some of our communal papers.

It might interest you to know that "The People" which was originally started by Lala Lajpat Rai is now also being helped with American money. Naturally articles come out in it in praise of various things in America. There was a criticism in it of the steel plant we are putting up with Soviet help.

It would surprise many people to know how American money is being spread out all over the country.

I should like you to show this to Dhebarbhai just for his information.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

New Delhi,
May 20, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

Our Embassy in Paris has sent us a poem written in manuscript by a French Assistant Station Master in honour of Vinobaji. I am sending this original manuscript in French, as also an English translation of it. Also, the letter of our Press Attache in Paris¹. Could you kindly send these papers to Vinobaji? I am sure he will be interested in them as well as in the writer, M. Perret. I might add that the poem in French is a good one, apart from its meaning.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Please see Appendix 'C'.

May 25, 1955.

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your letters of May 18, May 20 and May 24. As regards the criticism of the Plan Frame by the organ of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, I have shown your letter to Shri Dhebarbhai and have also conveyed the gist of your letter to Vinobaji. I have also written an article on this topic for the next issue of the *Economic Review*.

I have sent the French poem to Vinobaji together with its English translation. The poem is, indeed, a good one and if Vinobaji agrees, I will release it to the press also.

We have been receiving stray information about the possibility of some persons in the Congress Parliamentary Party being the agents for United States. I do not know whether you have received some specific information about the persons concerned. A number of 'Research Scholars' from America come to the AICC Office these days for the use of the library or the Press Cuttings Department. We have now given instructions to our office to be strict in this matter and not to allow these American scholars to mix with the staff.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN



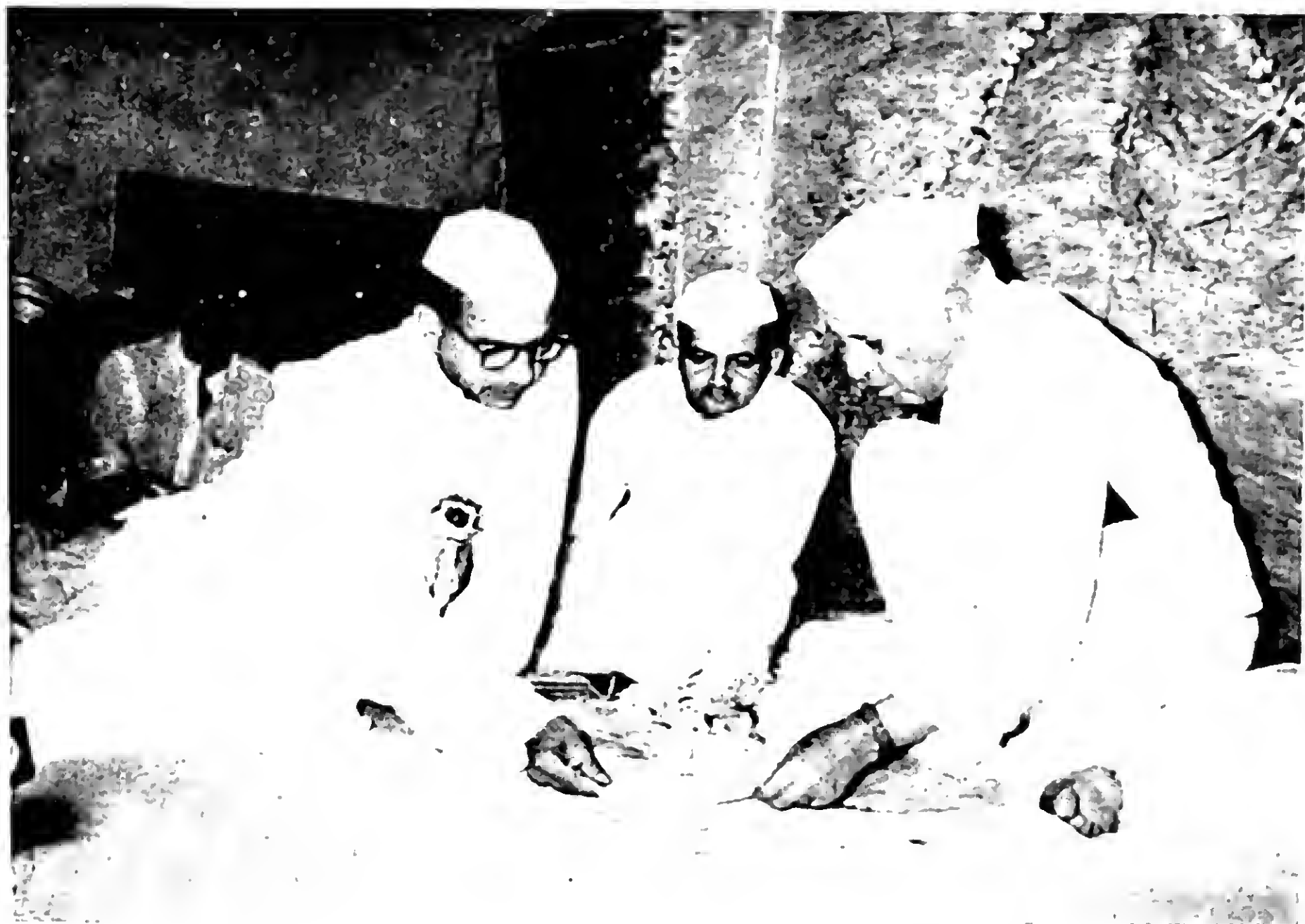
6/8/55.

My dear Shriman,

I have had a talk with Rameshwar
about way and our participation in it -
I feel that we have already gone far in
associating ourselves through the Jals
Congress & the Jala Dal - Since this is so, it
would be undesirable to withdraw and I
think we should proceed further with it.

Rameshwar has been invited to 715
Geneva - I think he should go.

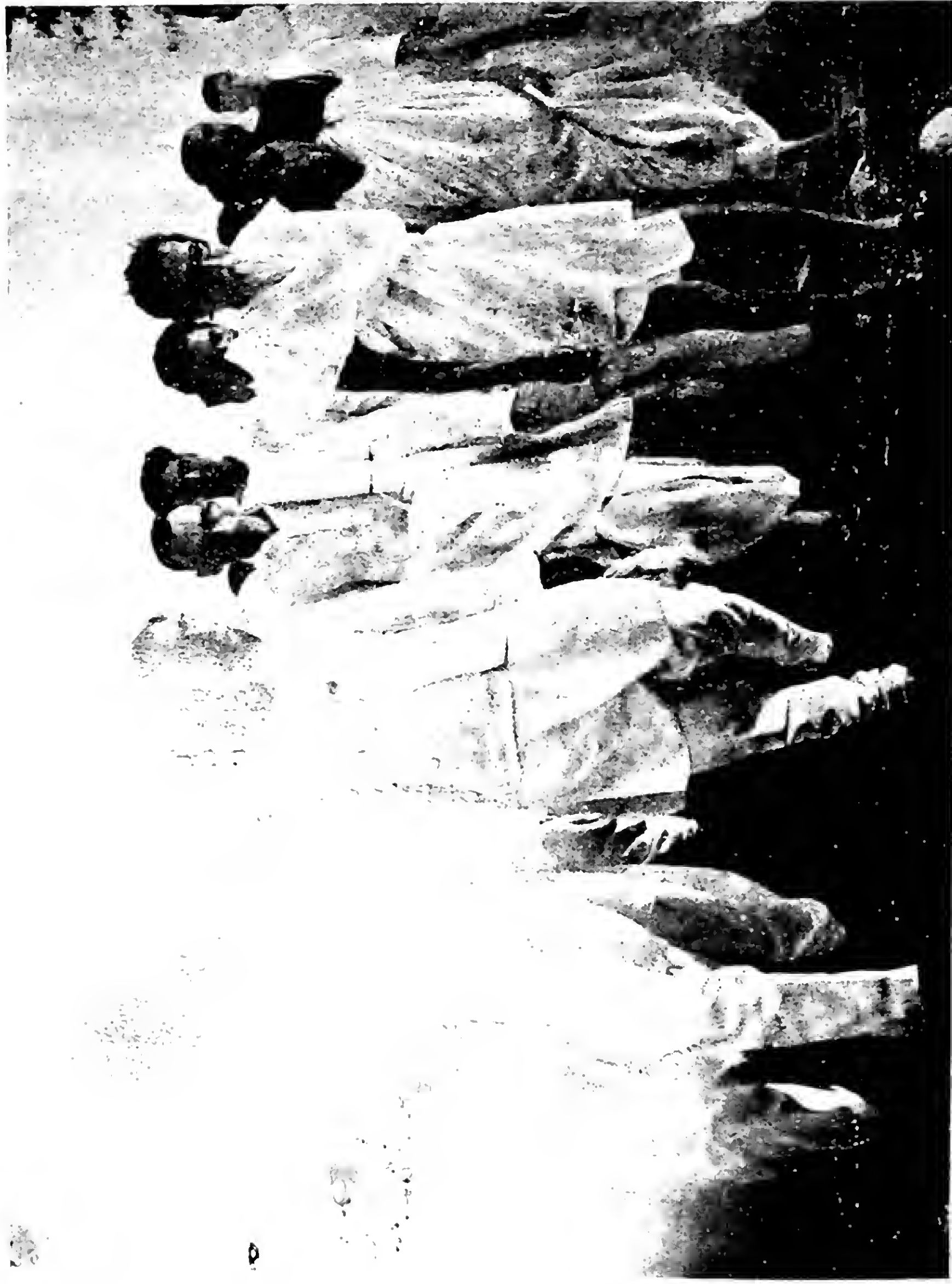
Yours sincerely
Jawahar Lal Nehru



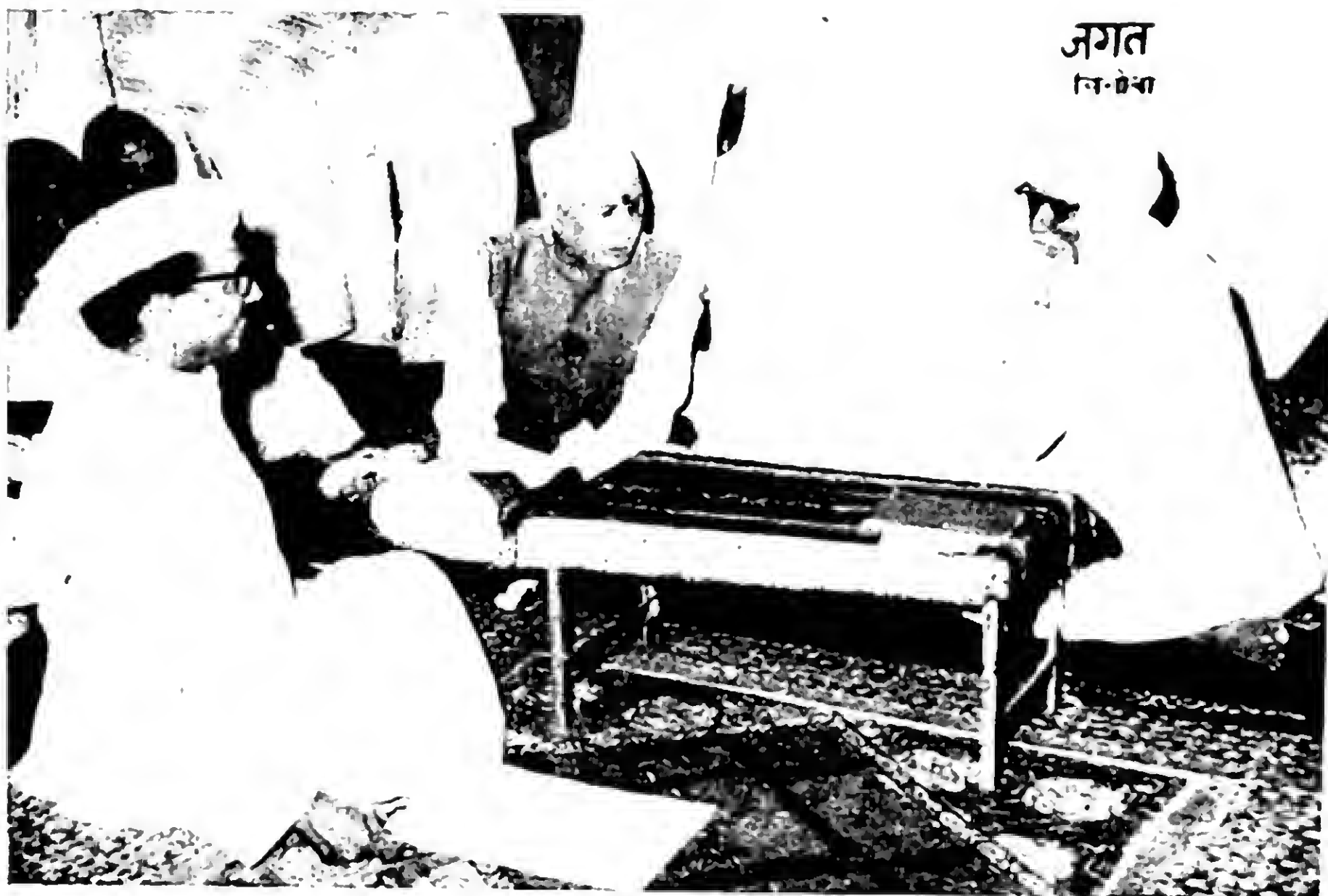
Nehru and Shriman Narayan at one of the AICC Sessions
(Lal Bahadur Shastri looks on)



Nehru discussing an interesting point with
Shriman Narayan.



Nehru and Vinoba walking together after their talks.



जगत
विन्ध्या

Nehru and Vinoba engaged in talks. Shriman Narayan also participates.



विन्ध्या

Nehru and Vinoba greeting each other at Gramdan Conference—Yelwal (Mysore) 1957.



Vinoba's discussion with Shriman Narayan.



Shriman Narayan listening to Acharya Vinoba. Madalsa Narayan is taking down notes.

6.8.55

My dear Shriman,

I have had a talk with Ramakrishna¹ about WAY² and our participation in it. I find that we have already gone far in associating ourselves through the Youth Congress and the Seva Dal. Since this is so, it would be undesirable to withdraw and I think we should proceed further with it.

Ramakrishna has been invited to go to Geneva. I think he should go.

Shri Shriman Narayan,
General Secretary, AICC.
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Ramakrishna Bajaj, who was closely associated with the Youth Congress Department of the AICC.

² World Assembly of Youth.

New Delhi,
September 9, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

I am sending you full transcript taken down by the AIR of my speech at Patna on the 30th August. I am afraid it is very tiring reading and there are many repetitions in it. I have with some difficulty gone through it. I found a few mistakes due, perhaps, to the fact that I was not clearly heard.

As desired by Jayaprakash Narayan, I am sending a copy of this transcript to him also¹.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had issued a press statement criticizing Shri Nehru's speech at Patna in connection with firing on students.

New Delhi,
October 7, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

I am returning the papers you sent me about Bihar.

I should like to see you of course, but tomorrow I am rather full up because of Mr. Casey's visit and accumulated work. I am going on the 9th to fly over Amritsar¹. As I am taking

¹ To study the flood situation in the area.

a number of people from Ambala (Governor, Ministers, etc.) as also some engineers from here, I am afraid there is no room left in my aircraft.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

67

New Delhi,
14th October, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

I am sending you an old friend, Maulana Nur-ud-Din Behari. Although his name is Behari, he was really a resident of Delhi and he played an important part in Delhi Congress politics. Indeed, he was very well known and popular here both among Hindus and Muslims. He was President of the Delhi Provincial Congress Committee in the late thirties before Asaf Ali became President. He has, of course, been to jail many times.

Since 1945-46, he has not played much part in politics except for remaining a four-anna member of the Congress. For some reason he lived a retired life. Three years ago he decided to go and do some farming and bought some land in Bhopal. He has not been particularly successful as a farmer as he knew little about it.

However, I want you to see him because he is really a very worthy person and a person who can be of help to us. He now wants to come back to politics, that is, Congress politics. He has never been in any other politics. I should like you and Dhebarbhai to meet him and have a talk with him.

I am not quite sure how we can utilise his services. He had heard that some minority people had been nominated to the AICC and so he suggested that this might be done in his case. I told him that he certainly would make a good member of the AICC, but this was for the President to decide and I thought that probably there was no vacancy at present.

However, you should meet him and I hope Dhebarbhai will also meet him. You could keep in touch with him.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
General Secretary, AICC,
New Delhi.

New Delhi
October 19, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

I wonder if you could find out if we have any proper records in the AICC Office about the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee of 1921 and the All Parties Conference of 1929. I am interested in these papers as well as other papers which might give information about my father's activities¹.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ All the required material was sent to Panditji from the AICC records.

October 22, 1955.

My dear Panditji,

A few days ago I had toured Punjab and Pepsu in connection with the floods. I had also the opportunity of meeting important Congress workers in both the Pradeshes. The Punjab Congressmen were unanimously of the opinion that the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission should be accepted in toto and that Himachal Pradesh should not be kept apart. They thought that the Akalis would first press hard for the creation of a Punjabi Suba by the separation of Himachal Pradesh and the eastern Hindi districts. If this demand is not conceded, they would press for the retention of Pepsu as a separate State on the plea that if Himachal would be a separate State in consideration of the wishes of the hill people, Pepsu should also be retained as a separate State in deference to the wishes of the Sikhs. In Patiala also, Congressmen were of the view that if Himachal Pradesh is retained as a separate State, even Congress Sikhs would plead for the retention of Pepsu.

Congressmen in both Punjab and Pepsu feel that they should be taken into full confidence before reconsidering the recommendations of the Commission. I told them that the Congress High Command would not consider any proposal of the Akalis without taking the Punjab and Pepsu PCCs into confidence. My views appeared in the papers in a rather distorted form and might have created some misunderstanding. But, I think it will be proper to call representatives of the Punjab and Pepsu PCCs

also one of these days. This is just a suggestion for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

70

New Delhi
December 1, 1955.

My dear Shriman,

I am afraid I cannot stay on in Bezwada on the 11th December. I have to start soon after my arrival there by plane for Delhi. I have to meet the Soviet leaders that day. They will be returning from Srinagar on the 11th midday. As it is, I shall be late. If I stay longer in Bezwada, I shall probably not be able to come back that day because I cannot reach here after dusk. I am sorry not to be able to take advantage of this visit to see Vinobaji.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

71

New Delhi,
January 18, 1956.

My dear Panditji,

Your broadcast day before yesterday was, indeed, helpful in giving to the nation a broad perspective in which the problem of States reorganisation should be viewed. I earnestly feel, however, that it would have been better if reference had been made to the cosmopolitan character of Bombay City. This city is a result of cooperative endeavour of different linguistic groups and communities and it is mainly from this standpoint that it has been retained as a centrally administered area. Your observations on Bombay in the course of your broadcast have given the impression that it is the legitimate right of the Maharastrians to "dominate" over Bombay. If this impression is removed on

some suitable occasion in the near future, I think it will be helpful in restoring peace in Bombay city. It may also be made clear that the Government of India would not allow this cosmopolitan character of Bombay city to be destroyed by acts of violence and hooliganism.

Sardar Hukam Singh,¹ M.P., happened to meet me yesterday in the Select Committee on the Representation of the People Act of which he and I are members. He expressed a wish that we should now find a satisfactory solution of the Punjab problem at an early date. We had some casual talk yesterday. Sardar Hukam Singh came to see me this morning and we had about an hour's talk. I told him clearly that we were talking as fellow M.P.s and not as representatives of political parties. He also talked to me in the same spirit. In the course of our talks Sardar Hukam Singh confessed that under the present circumstances when the national leaders were trying to create big States the creation of a small Punjabi Suba was not a practical proposition. He thought that the only solution to the problem lay in the creation of one Punjabi State including Himachal Pradesh, with three Regional Councils, one for the Punjabi area, the second for the Hindi area and the third for the hilly area. The Punjab State would, of course, have one legislature and one Cabinet. But each may have a Regional Council consisting of the M.L.A.s from that area. These Regional Councils may also have an executive committee with the Cabinet Minister of that area as its Chairman. These Councils may be entrusted with subjects like health, education, village panchayats, agriculture, small industries etc. Sardar Hukam Singh felt that some solution of this type would perhaps be helpful in resolving the Punjab tangle. He also told me that Shri Gyan Singh Rarewala was trying to take an extremist stand so that the talks between the Government of India and the Akali leaders may not succeed. He would demand the retention of Pepsu as a separate State. Sardar Hukam Singh thought that this was an unhelpful attitude and should not be given much weight. He also told me that there was some feeling of nervousness amongst the Akalis about the change of leadership in Punjab. They thought that the Congress High Command was making Sardar Pratapsingh Kairon the Chief Minister in order to deal with the Akalis in a ruthless manner. I told him that the

¹ Now Governor of Rajasthan.

change of leadership was purely a Congress Party matter and had nothing to do with the States Reorganisation in that area.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

72

New Delhi,
March 11, 1956.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of March 11 with its enclosures¹.

This matter has been referred to me by quite a number of people independently. Among them are Rajaji, Rameshwari Nehru, Bharatan Kumarappa, Chaman Lall, Anup Singh and perhaps one or two others. My reply to all of them, except to Rajaji, was that while we did not attach any particular value to this Conference, as it was rather a limited and small affair, if they chose to go, I would have no objection. Rajaji's going was anyhow not practical because I did not think the cold climate there would suit him at this time of the year. Also he was far too important a person to go in this casual way. Rajaji thereupon sent a long telegram in reply at my instance. In this he regretted his inability to go because of the climate and also because he did not usually associate himself with organisations of this kind. But he had been devoting himself fully to the cause of disarmament and more especially to the banning of atomic weapons. He indicated in it that it might be possible for him to go to Moscow independently when the climate was suitable.

The Conference that is being held in Moscow is somewhat different from the previous conferences. It is relatively small and a number of fairly important people from other countries are attending. They say that they will treat it as a private conference with no press reporting etc.

When Ilya Ehrenburg was here, he mentioned this conference or something like it to me and we discussed this whole question rather fully. I told him my objections to this kind of propagandist activity. He agreed that in the past it had been rather propagandist, but they were anxious to change this character. I rather doubt if any great change will take place. Nevertheless in view of the very considerable change in Soviet policy which has recently

¹ About the Peace Conference at Moscow.

occurred and various other circumstances, I did not think it desirable to prevent people from going if they wanted to go. I felt also, although I did not say so, that there might be some slight advantage of some people going from here who could put across our own point of view clearly and even to some extent Gandhiji's point of view.

I take it that these people are going. I think that in the circumstances one or two others who wish to go might also be permitted to do so.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

73

March 29, 1956

My dear Panditji,

Shri Dhebarbhai told me that he has already requested you to give one day to Berar immediately after the AICC Session in Bombay. The Berar *Bhoodan* Samiti will try its best to collect about 50,000 acres of land and also distribute thousands of acres at the function to be arranged for you. The Vidarbha PCC has requested you to inaugurate their Pradesh Political Conference on the same day after the main Bhoodan function.

The AICC Session will be over in the evening of the 3rd June. You can proceed to Vidarbha by air on the 4th forenoon. The main function will be held in the evening. Most probably the venue of the function will be Akola which is the headquarters of the PCC. I will let you know the exact place in a day or two after consulting the PCC and the Bhoodan Samiti. In the meantime, I would request you to kindly keep the 4th of June free for this function.

I shall be much obliged if you kindly send me a line in confirmation of the programme, so that I may inform the concerned organisations accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

74

New Delhi,
29th March, 1956.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 29th March about my going for one day to Berar from Bombay.

It is rather difficult for me to fix this programme now. I shall be going to Bombay after all these disturbances and I should like to feel the pulse of Bombay. I may stay an extra day or so there. For me to come away suddenly after the AICC meeting will add to the impression already created to some extent that I am avoiding the Bombay public. I do not want this to happen.

Also, I shall have to come back to Delhi fairly soon.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

75

New Delhi,
May 7, 1956.

My dear Shriman,

Govind Sahai of the U.P. saw me today and told me of some pamphlets he had written. I think you have met him and perhaps seen some of his pamphlets. I should like to know what you think of them. He is a person full of energy and writes well, though I have not seen any of his recent writings.

He is very individualistic and for many years his governing passion was to attack communalism and, more especially, the R.S.S. He fell out with the U.P. Congress, joined the P.S.P. and then fell out with them. I think he opposed the Congress candidate in the elections.

In spite of all this, I think that he is a useful man. I find that he has toned down very much and is becoming more amenable to reasoned work. He is giving up his negative attitude.

I should like to know your reactions to what he was written and to what he might do for us.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
General Secretary, AICC,
7, Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

76

New Delhi
May 19, 1956.

My dear Panditji,

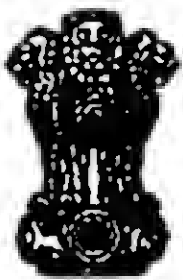
I was in Hardwar yesterday to address the Uttar Pradesh

Youth Congress Camp. I was glad to find that about one hundred smart young men, mostly University students, participated in this camp. I spoke to them at length about the need for strengthening the Congress organisation by the infusion of new blood of the proper type. There was no other party except the Congress which could maintain India's unity and preserve our independence for many years to come. I also appealed to them to work for the Youth Congress for at least a period of five years so that they could get the requisite training under your great leadership. It was not right for young men to join the Congress and at once expect some position. It was necessary to put in solid and hard work for a few years. I told them that so far as I was concerned I had decided not to seek election to the Parliament or a State Legislature in the forthcoming general elections. This created a visible enthusiasm among the young men, and about 25 of them offered to work for the Youth Congress for at least a period of five years. Most of these young men are studying in the Graduate and Post-Graduate classes of various universities in Uttar Pradesh. I was, indeed, happy to see the good response. I feel sure that in this way hundreds of young men could be mobilised for revitalising the Congress.

About four years ago you were kind enough to call me suddenly for taking up Congress work in the AICC. I have been trying to do my best for the organisation. But, I find that the Congress is not gaining the requisite strength and vitality despite our best efforts. I had been thinking seriously about this problem for the last few months, and I feel convinced that the youth of the country could join the Congress only if some of us were prepared to work with them shoulder to shoulder. I, therefore, decided for myself that I should devote my whole time to the Congress organisation with undivided loyalty and should not seek election to the Parliament next year. I desired to discuss this matter with you, but, somehow, could not get the necessary opportunity. I hope that you will kindly bless my sincere desire to work more intensively for the Congress for some years under your inspiring leadership.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.



सत्यमेव जयते

PERSONAL

No.1215-PMH/56

New Delhi,
May 19, 1956.

My dear Shriman,

Thank you for your letter of May 19th. I appreciate greatly what you have written and I think there is force in it. Some two or three years ago, I felt strongly that I would be of greater use to the country and to the Congress if I left the offices I held. At that time, I was Congress President also in addition to being Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. Fortunately, Dhebarbhai took charge of the Congress Presidentship. I gave up the Ministry of Defence. But I could not manage to give up the Prime Ministership.

What you have written, I think, has force, but the time is not yet to come to a final decision.

Yours sincerely,

Shri Shriman Narayan, M.P.,
General Secretary,
Indian National Congress,
7 Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

New Delhi,
May 19, 1956.

My dear Shriman,

Thank you for your letter of May 19th. I appreciate greatly what you have written and I think there is force in it. Some two or three years ago, I felt strongly that I would be of greater use to the country and to the Congress if I left the offices I held. At that time, I was Congress President also in addition to being Prime Minister and Minister of Defence. Fortunately, Dhebarbhai took charge of the Congress Presidentship. I gave up the Ministry of Defence. But I could not manage to give up the Prime Ministership.

What you have written, I think, has force, but the time is not yet to come to take a final decision.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

7, Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi-1
May 20, 1956.

My dear Panditji,

I am much obliged to you for your kind letter of the 19th May. I am, indeed, happy that you have liked my idea of not contesting the next general elections and of devoting most of my time to organisational and constructive work through the Congress.

In your letter you have made a reference about Prime Ministership. I hope there was nothing in my letter which might have given you the slightest impression that I or other Congress workers would like the idea of your giving up the Prime Ministership. This is, surely, farthest from my mind. On the other hand, I think under the existing circumstances, this idea is inconceivable. We only desire that it may be possible for a number of young men in the country to come into closer contact with you through various Congress Training Camps and receive their training under your great leadership. In fact, we are very grateful that you have already agreed

to do so and the first Training Camp of this type will be held in Bulandshahar on June 16 and 17.

Dhebarbhai and myself will be going to Kanchivaram after a few days to attend the Sarvodaya Sammelan. I will be happy if you kindly find some time to write a letter to Vinobaji conveying your good wishes for the Sammelan.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

79

New Delhi,
December 5, 1956.

My dear Panditji,

I am glad that the Congress Party today had a fairly useful discussion on the Ambar Charkha. Your introductory remarks were very helpful in understanding the problem in a right perspective.

There is, however, one thing we should make clear to the Party. So long as the Party is studying this problem through its Committee on Cottage Industries, the Commerce Ministry should not sanction any more spindles. In fact, the main reason for the present bitterness is that the Commerce Ministry has sanctioned 9,000 spindles in spite of Nandaji's opinion to the contrary. If after careful study it is found necessary to sanction more spindles, nobody will mind it. The Party will be satisfied if no sanction is given for more spindles for a month or two.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

80

New Delhi
February 16, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 16th February.

I think that it would be desirable for Sucheta Kripalani to issue a brief statement¹. It does not matter who has spread it, but others have heard about it and they asked me. In fact, I have written even to Mehr Chand Khanna telling him that this is false.

¹ There was a press report that Shrimati Sucheta Kripalani was being taken into the Union Cabinet.

I do not know when I can see Sucheta as I am completely occupied tomorrow and day after tomorrow morning I go away.

I understand that you have been asking Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed to do some election touring in India. D. P. Dhar came to see me today and mentioned this and asked what my advice was. I told him to convey to Bakshi Sahib that his first duty was in Kashmir and he must not allow anything to come in the way of that. If, however, he felt he could go away for a short time, then he might visit Bombay and Calcutta and no other place. It is quite wrong to take him away from Kashmir at this moment. He wanted me to tell you about this, so I am mentioning it.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
General Secretary, A.I.C.C.

81

New Delhi,
May 22, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

Dhiren Mazumdar¹ has written to me that he will be coming here on the 21st May, as suggested by us. He wants me to fix a time for our meeting and inform you of it.

That is the last day of Parliament and I do not quite know what matters may come up and how long Parliament might sit on that day. I suggest, however, provisionally that we might meet at 3-30 p.m. in Parliament House.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Shri Mazumdar was, at that time, the President of All-India Sarva Seva Sangh, which is a federation of several Gandhian constructive work institutions.

82

New Delhi,
June 6, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

Some little time ago I received a letter from Satya Sevak Gadre¹.

¹ Shri Gadre is a Sarvodaya worker of Wardha who had written to Pandit Nehru about the need for evolving non-violent defence techniques according to Gandhiji's principles of *Satyagraha*.

I am sending it to you so that you may read it. Perhaps you might show it to Dhebarbhai at his leisure. I do not know what to do with this letter and the proposals he has made in it.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
General Secretary, AICC,

83

New Delhi
August 11, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of August 9th¹. I promised to try to attend the Gramdan Conference in Mysore on the 21st and 22nd September. I shall endeavour to do so. I shall try to reach Mysore by lunch time, as suggested.

I do not know who else will be going from here, more especially whether the President would be going or not. The Vice-President will not be in India then. When you know about the others who are likely to go, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
7, Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

¹ Shrimanji had requested Shri Nehru to attend the Gramdan Conference convened by Sarva Seva Sangh to enlist the active support of the Government, the Congress and other political parties to Acharya Vinoba's Gramdan movement. The Conference was held at Yelwal, near Mysore, and was attended by President Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Pandit Nehru, Pantji, Dhebarbhai and representatives of the Congress, P.S.P., and the Communist Party.

84

August 19, 1957.

My dear Panditji,

I was, indeed, very much surprised to know that Pantji has not been contacted by the Sarva Seva Sangh workers so far about the Gramdan Conference in Mysore. In fact, I was told by Shri Vallabhaswami that he had contacted Pantji in this connection.

However, I along with Shri Dhotre will be meeting Pantji this evening. I have ascertained from the Sarva Seva Sangh office that a formal invitation has already been sent to him. I do not know why it has not been received by Pantji so far. The Sarva Seva Sangh office will be sending another invitation to him tomorrow. I am contacting Shri Dhirenbbhai also so that he may himself see Pantji some time on the 22nd August.

Nandaji will accompany you on the 21st September. Morarjibhai intends to leave a day or two earlier in order to have detailed talks with Vinobaji before the Conference.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

85

New Delhi
August 30, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

Could you give me some idea of our programme of meetings, private and public, in Mysore on the 21st and 22nd September? This will help me to fix up my programme.

I intend reaching there in the afternoon of the 20th. If at all possible, I want to pay a visit to Coorg, that is, about two hours' run by car.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

86

New Delhi,
September 5, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of September 5 about the Youth Convention at Lucknow. I am afraid the 27th October will not suit me. I shall probably go to Baroda on the 26th, and on the 28th I have to be in Delhi for the inauguration of the International Red Cross

Conference. The only dates that I can suggest are a little earlier, say about the 22nd or 23rd. I suppose a Sunday will be preferred. The only other Sunday is the 20th October. As I shall be returning from Japan on the 17th, it will not be very convenient for me to go out two or three days later.

I would, therefore, prefer some date as suggested above. This may be varied slightly this way or that.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

87

New Delhi,
26th September, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of September 26. As there is no help for it, I shall try to spend the night of the 27th in Lucknow. The function can, therefore, be held in the evening of that day.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

88

Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi,
October 2, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

I gather that the Youth Conference has been fixed now for the 27th October at Lucknow. I am rather in a fix about this matter, as I have to be in Delhi on the 28th morning to inaugurate the International Red Cross Conference. Is it possible for me to come back on the 27th evening to Delhi?

Dr. Radhakrishnan and I will be going to Baroda to attend the P.E.N. Conference on the 26th October. I have mentioned to Dr. Radhakrishnan that I should like to go to Lucknow the next day and he has been good enough to agree to going with me. We are travelling in a special plane. The question is whether it is possible for us to return on the 27th evening.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
General Secretary, AICC,

New Delhi,
31st October, 1957.

My dear Shriman,

P of Ujjain came to see me this morning complaining of all kinds of irregularities in Madhya Pradesh and especially in Ujjain from where he comes. I have myself a feeling that *K* sometimes bears down heavily on people he does not fully like. I think he should be checked. I do not know the facts about these matters, but I hope you will look into them. One thing appears to me odd. There have been no elections in Ujjain for a considerable time. Repeatedly they appear to have been postponed.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

November 4, 1957

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your letter of the 31st October about Ujjain Congress affairs. *P* also saw me in this connection two days ago. I have already taken the necessary steps to check the activities of *K* in regard to Ujjain affairs. I will see to it that the Congress elections in Ujjain are completed this time.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

Prime Minister's House
New Delhi,
November 20, 1957

My dear Shriman,

You asked me the other day for the book on *yogic vyayam*¹. I am sending you a copy. You can keep it.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
7, Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

¹ Pandit Nehru used to perform *yogic* exercises in the morning for about three-quarters of an hour every day for many years.

April 8, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

I am sending herewith a copy of a letter received by Smt. Jankidevi Bajaj from the Director-General of the Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs inviting her to attend the Fourth World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and for Disarmament to be held in Japan in August. I do not know whether Smt. Jankidevi should accept the invitation. She desires to seek your guidance in the matter. I shall be obliged if you kindly let me have your advice so that I may inform Jankideviji accordingly.

I hope some action has already been taken about the Hindi style of the All India Radio Hindi News bulletins.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

Prime Minister's House
New Delhi,
April 8, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of April 8th. I am quite clear that Jankideviji¹ should not accept the invitation to go to Japan. In Japan, they seem to have a conference about nuclear bombs or weapons every few months. In any event, I would not have advised her to go there. Apart from this, the conference seems to be a special one for Christians and, thirdly, the subject is one which is rather technical.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
7, Jantar Mantar Road,
New Delhi.

¹ Wife of the late Shri Jamnalal Bajaj.

April 7, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

I am sending herewith April 1 issue of the A.I.C.C. *Economic Review* in which appears my article on *Education and Democracy*. Perhaps, you may like to look into it.

I am also sending herewith a copy of Shri Namboodiripad's latest publication entitled *The Mahatma and the Ism*. Shri Namboodiripad has made very uncharitable references to Gandhiji and dubs him as a leader of the bourgeois possessing "extremely reactionary social outlook".

In the last chapter Shri Namboodiripad deals with *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan* movements and ends by stating that although he and his friends wish Vinobaji well, they would never give up their "struggle for political power".

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

Manali, Kulu Valley,
16th June, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

I enclose a letter which I have received today from a correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*¹.

Having informed the *Hindustan Times* people about the misreporting of this person (whom I do not know), I do not think we need pursue this matter any further or try to harm him in his profession.

I suggest that you might send for him and tell him that we do not wish to cause him any injury, but that we had to bring this matter to the notice of the Chief Editor of the *Hindustan Times*. This is not merely a question of mistaken reporting, but of tendentious account being given which had little element of

¹ The letter had expressed regret for the mistake in reporting Pandit Nehru's meeting with a Congress leader of Punjab.

truth in it. However, having brought the matter to the notice of the Chief Editor, we do not wish to pursue it any further.

You might perhaps also inform the Chief Editor on the same lines.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

96

New Delhi-1
June 23, 1958.

My dear Panditji

I received your letter dated the 16th June from Manali a few days ago. The correspondent of the *Hindustan Times* who wrote you a letter is at present on leave. I will send for him when he returns to Delhi some time in the first week of July. I have already talked to the Chief Editor on the lines suggested by you. He has not taken any particular action against the correspondent. Perhaps, some other correspondent will now deal with Congress affairs.

I am sending herewith a copy of an article entitled *Ends and Means* which I have written for the next issue of the *AICC Economic Review*¹. Kindly let me know whether you would like me to make any changes in the ideas expressed in the article.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN NARAYAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister's House.
New Delhi.

¹ Please see Appendix 'D'.

97

Prime Minister's House
New Delhi.
June 23, 1958.

Dear Shriman,

Your letter and your article. I would only suggest one minor

change. Page 2, about the middle, you might add "in India" after "Communists¹".

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Shri Nehru was in favour of condemning the Communist Party of India, but not Communists in other friendly countries like the Soviet Union. The article was published in the *AICC Economic Review* with the change suggested by Shri Nehru.

98

New Delhi
30th June, 1958

My dear Shriman.

I enclose a copy of a letter I have addressed to Dr. B. C. Roy. I have sent a copy of this to Atulya Babu also. Please show this to Dhebarbhai when he comes.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

99

New Delhi,
30th June, 1958.

My dear Bidhan,

In the third week of April, a young man came to see me here and he spoke to me about an All-India Youth Festival which he said was being organised in Calcutta. The principal object of the festival was said to be to work against provincialism, casteism and communalism. The name of this young man was Amalendu Gangulce. He showed me a message that you had given to him for this festival, wishing him success. Your message was dated the 10th April.

I told him that I did not usually attend such functions but I approved of the objectives laid down and I gave him rather a long message. This was on the eve of my first visit to Manali. I lost sight of this matter then.

Later, I learnt that all was not well and that Atulya Babu had not approved of this festival and spoken about it to Shriman Narayan here. Thereupon Shriman Narayan had issued some kind of a statement dissociating the Congress from it. Partly this

was done to avoid any misapprehension as some names like that of Dhebarbhai had been mentioned in connection with this festival. Asoke Sen had previously agreed to be Chairman of the festival but later he withdrew his name when it was stated that the Congress was dissociating itself from it.

You will appreciate that this has put me in a very embarrassing position. I had sent a long message to these people and my blessings and good wishes for the success of the festival. I had done so chiefly because I had seen your message and because Asoke Sen was associated with it. I do not quite know how to proceed about this matter now.

But, apart from my embarrassment, this raises a wider issue. Why should not the students or young people of Calcutta organise their festival and why should the Congress come in the way of it or dissociate itself from it? The people behind this festival, so far as I know, are bright young men, broadly working for right causes for which the Congress stands. We should encourage all such activities outside the narrower range of directly Congress activities. I have always been of opinion that the influence of the Congress is far greater if a number of independent activities take place which are broadly in sympathy with the Congress. This applies more especially to the youths and the students. The Congress should certainly work amongst them. If it wants to occupy a monopoly position in regard to this matter, then it is bound to fail.

More especially in present-day conditions, when our young people are drifting in all directions and all kinds of pulls are being made on them, we cannot approach them in a narrow organizational way. This applies to labour also.

You know I have not been happy about conditions in Calcutta and I should like to discuss this matter with you and with Atulya Babu and others at some length. I hope to have the opportunity to do so fairly soon. That is partly because of this that I intend coming to Calcutta.

My whole approach has always been that the strength of the Congress lies more in our approach to the general public and in the sympathy and friendliness of the general public than merely in the organisation we build up, important as that organisation is. Once that organisation is isolated from public sympathy, then it has lost its anchorage and foundation.

This instance of the youth festival of Calcutta has come rather as a shock to me because here was an opportunity to influence indirectly large numbers of young men and women. Instead of influencing them in the right direction, we have given them a feeling probably that we do not approve of anything that is not done directly under their auspices. That, I think, is a wrong approach. In the present case, matters are even more complicated because you and I give our blessings to a function and then the Congress organization without the slightest reference to us dissociates itself from it. What exactly am I to do?

I am sending a copy of this letter to Atulya Babu.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

100

June 30, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

As desired by you, Shri Amalendu Gangulee, General Secretary of the Youth Festival Preparatory Committee, saw me in the afternoon and expressed his regrets for announcing the names of important Congress leaders, including the Congress President, without receiving their consent. He, however, desired that we should advise them in regard to their future course of action. I have suggested to him that Shri Debotosh Das Gupta, the Working President of the Preparatory Committee, may also come to Delhi so that we may discuss the whole matter in detail and work out a solution. After discussing the matter with these young friends, I will seek your guidance. I am, indeed, very sorry for the embarrassment which has been caused to you in this connection. In fact, at the time of issuing the Press Note about the Festival in response to Shri Atulya Babu's request, I had no idea about your message for the Festival.

I am sending herewith the latest issue of the *AICC Economic Review*. On the front page we have published a photograph of your vegetable garden. I had arranged to send a photographer specially for this purpose. You will be glad to know that the circulation of the *Economic Review* is now nearly 5,000. The Review is quite popular among the students of Colleges and

Universities. We sell about 700 copies in Delhi alone.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

P.S. I have just now received a copy of your letter addressed to Dr. Roy. I will show it to Dhebarbhai tomorrow.

101

July 7, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

I am sending herewith a copy of an article entitled "Communalism in Education"¹ which I have written for the July 15 issue of the A.I.C.C. *Economic Review*. I have been writing for the *Economic Review* continuously for the last 6 years and this will be my last article. Somebody else will have to take up the Chief Editorship of the *Economic Review* after the 15th July when I join the Planning Commission.

I shall be obliged if you kindly find some time to go through the article and let me know whether any changes are necessary.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

¹ Please see Appendix 'E'.

102

Prime Minister's House
New Delhi
July 7, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of July 7th and your article on *Communalism in Education*. I have read the article. I have no comments to make about it and you can allow it to be published as it is.

But I fear that it is no easy matter for us at this stage to take up the question of changing the names of the Aligarh and Banaras

Universities. Maulana Saheb did take up this matter and in fact a Bill was drafted to this end. There was then a big outcry in both Universities and we decided not to raise that question then.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
New Delhi.

103

Prime Minister's House
New Delhi.
July 23, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

I wonder if you have seen an article by Professor Galbraith of Harvard University, U.S.A., which appeared in *Foreign Affairs*. In case you have not seen it, I am sending you a copy.

Yours sincerely,
Sd: JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

104

29th July, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

I am grateful to you for your letter of July 23rd, together with a copy of an article by Professor Galbraith of the Harvard University. I have read the article carefully. Professor Galbraith has rightly pointed out that economic planning in India should follow its own line in accordance with local circumstances and conditions. Experiments either in the West or in the USSR will not be of much help.

It is, however, difficult to agree with Professor Galbraith that India is "the world's greatest example of functioning anarchy". While it is true that both agriculture and industry in general are more subject to control in the United States than in India, it should also be noted that the public utility services in India are directly

run and managed by the State while in the U.S.A. these services are run by private enterprise except the post offices. In America the Railways, the Radio, the Telephones and the Telegraphs are run by private companies. In India all these public utility services are State enterprises. Even the large-scale establishments in different industries are quite rigidly controlled by the Industries (Regulation & Development) Act of 1951.

I am sending herewith a copy of an article published in the *Eastern Economist* about our policy on Agriculture and Co-operation. Perhaps you might have already seen it.

I have now been able to get a fairly good idea about the working of the Planning Commission. I would like to discuss some points with you tomorrow or the day after whenever it is convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister of India,
New Dehli.

105

August 26, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

I had informed Vinobaji that I discussed with you his proposal about convening a conference of different political parties to consider the question of eschewing violence from public life. I wrote to him that you will consider this matter and let me know your views after some days. Vinobaji was rather keen that such a conference may be held on the 2nd October, the Gandhi Jayanti Day. He will be in Broach on that day. In case this date is not convenient to you, we may fix Baroda where Vinobaji will be present on the 28th or 29th October.

Although it is difficult to say whether such a conference will really yield any substantial results, I think it will still be worthwhile convening such a meeting in the interests of national unity. I also feel that it would be better if you as the Prime Minister take a lead in the matter.

If necessary, I can come and meet you in this connection at any time convenient to you.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

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Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.
August 26, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 26th August. I am afraid there is no chance of my being able to go to Broach on the 2nd October. I am not sure if I shall return from Bhutan by that time. As for the second date, that is, the 28th or 29th October it will not be very easy for me to go. But perhaps I could manage a day. These October and November are full of Prime Ministers, Presidents and Foreign Ministers from abroad coming here.

As for convening a conference of different political parties, I should like to consult some of my colleagues and of course to discuss this matter with you.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

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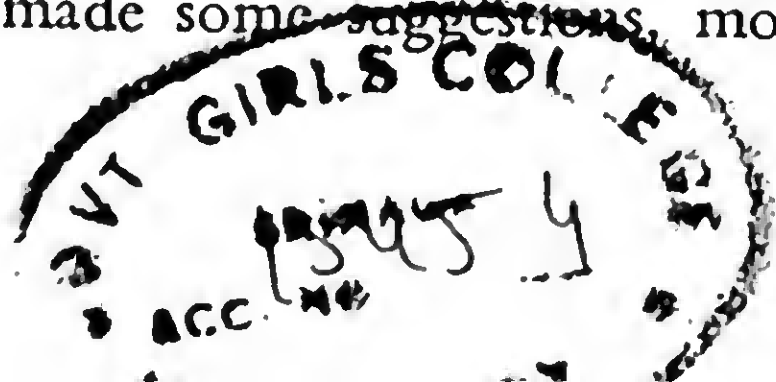
New Delhi,
27th August, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your kind letter of August 26.

The date for the proposed Conference of Political Parties will, of course, have to be fixed according to your convenience.

I am sending herewith a copy of the AICC *Economic Review* of July 1, in which my article entitled "Ends and Means" was published. In the last paragraph of this article I had made some suggestions, more or less in accordance with



the views of Vinobaji. Perhaps this portion of my article may be of some use while discussing this matter with Dhebarbhai, Pantji and others.

When I met Vinobaji last time at Chalisgaon I also discussed with him the proposed scheme about imparting military training to a large number of people in the country. Vinobaji agreed that military training minus arms would be helpful in promoting discipline among the people. He is not at all against rigid physical discipline. But he felt that the word "military" may create an impression, particularly in Pakistan and in some foreign countries, that India was planning to increase her military strength on a mass scale. He is, therefore, of the view that in place of "military" word "Seva" may be used. Perhaps the proper word may be *Seva Sena* which Vinobaji has also been using frequently.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister of India,
New Delhi.

108

New Delhi,
4th September, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

In the Planning Commission I have been trying to study problems regarding Food and Agriculture in some detail. I have discussed various points with a number of Congress as well as other Members of Parliament during the last week. I have also tried to elicit the views of senior officers both in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and in the Planning Commission.

I am attaching herewith a Note in regard to (a) short-term and (b) long-term measures which may be helpful in improving the food situation in India. Some of these points could be discussed formally in the Planning Commission in due course.

The Congress Party in Parliament has very rightly appealed to different political parties to treat the food problem as a national problem. It is really unfortunate that some political parties are trying to exploit the present situation for their narrow party ends. But, it will, perhaps, be helpful if you could invite the leaders of the Opposition parties in Parliament to discuss with

you informally various problems regarding food from time to time. The procedure which is being followed in regard to foreign affairs may also be followed about the food situation. Similar informal meetings with leaders of Opposition parties may be convened by the Chief Ministers in different States. I think that such meetings will be useful in creating a better atmosphere in the country.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

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Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.
September 5, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

Our Food Minister, Ajit Prasad Jain, will be writing to you about an informal meeting we had about the food situation. We had invited Asoka Mehta and some other Opposition M.P.s to it. I intend to make this informal Committee a continuing one. I think that you should join it on behalf of the Planning Commission.

I have received your letter of the 4th September about the food situation. Thank you for it.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

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New Delhi.
September 9, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

I understand that you will be in Baroda on the 2nd November to inaugurate the All-India Youth Congress Convention. You will please remember that according to the present programme Vinobaji will be in Baroda on the 29th October. I am sure you will like to meet Vinobaji in or near Baroda on the 2nd November. Vinobaji could also be requested to attend the Youth Convention.

If it is possible to invite the leaders of other political parties for talks about eschewing violence from public life, well and good. Otherwise I will be happy if it is possible for you to meet Vinobaji and have general talks with him about various matters of national importance.

If you agree, I would immediately get in touch with Vinobaji and the Gujarat Bhoodan Samiti so that Vinobaji's programme is adjusted accordingly. I do not think there will be much difficulty in doing so.

I will be leaving for Lucknow tonight to meet Dr. Sampurnanand and Food and Agriculture Ministers of Uttar Pradesh in order to study the food and agriculture problems there. I will return to Delhi on the 11th morning.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

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Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi,
September 9, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of September 9th. Provisionally, I have fixed up my programme as follows:

November 1st	Visit to Bhopal
2nd	Youth Congress at Baroda.
3rd	Indore.
4th	Return to Delhi.

I can change it somewhat, if necessary, though it may not be quite easy. I could arrange to go to some place in Gujarat or round about to meet Vinobaji a little later.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

October 7, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

As desired by you, I have spoken to Shri Pitamber Pant about the statistical data necessary for drawing up the scheme of Military Discipline. I have also discussed with him the general outline of the scheme and have given him some of my own suggestions. Shri Pant has promised to send you the necessary information within two or three days.

I have asked for the detailed tour programme of Vinobaji during November and December. After studying Vinobaji's programme as well as yours, I will suggest to you certain convenient dates when you could meet Vinobaji somewhere in Gujarat.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's Residence,
New Delhi

New Delhi,
October 10, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

I am sending herewith a copy of Vinobaji's Gujarat tour programme during October, November and December. He will be in Rajkot on the 20th November and in Ahmedabad on the 17th December. I think your programme of meeting Vinobaji could be adjusted near about these dates. If it is decided to invite the leaders of other political parties also, it will be convenient for them to reach these places by train or by air.

I am returning the copy of your engagements which was given to me when I met you the other day. Kindly indicate to me the probable date of your visit to Vinobaji so that I may inform him accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

*Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.
October 10, 1958.*

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of October 10th about Vinobaji's Gujarat tour.

On the 20th of November, Prime Minister Diefenbaker of Canada is likely to be in Delhi. He is due to arrive on the 18th and will stay here for three days at least. I ought to be here then. The next date you suggest is the 17th December at Ahmedabad. This might be possible. Round about that date also, it is possible that the Prime Minister of Ghana may be here. However, I can probably manage to get away for a day or two.

You may, therefore, for the present indicate the 17th December at Ahmedabad for my meeting Vinobaji. As for a meeting of the leaders of political parties, I am not clear in my mind as to what should be done. Have you consulted other people in Delhi about it? On the last occasion, you will remember that the President went. Dhebarbhai, Pantji and Morarjibhai should certainly be consulted.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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New Delhi,
December 3, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

Shri Srinivasan informed me about your programme of meeting Vinobaji on the 17th and 18th of this month. I have conveyed the gist of that programme to Vinobaji. Yesterday I received a phone, on his behalf, making two minor suggestions. Firstly, on the 17th December, you may have to stay at Vinobaji's camp till 5.30 or 6 p.m., because the public meeting is held usually from 4.30 to 5.30 p.m. Vinobaji will be very happy if you also address the audience. Secondly, on the 18th December, Vinobaji will be able to reach his next camp only at about 9 or 9.30 a.m., because the distance that he will have to traverse that morning will be about 12 miles. Vinobaji suggests that, if it is possible, you may meet him somewhere on the way, say at about 8.30 a.m. and walk with him some distance, before he reaches his next camp at Bavla village.

Shri Narayan Desai¹ has sent me a telegram suggesting that you may address the Shanti Sena Camp at Sabarmati Ashram for fifteen minutes some time on the 17th December. You had told me that you would not accept any other engagement this time except to have a quiet talk with Vinobaji. If you accept any one engagement, there will, naturally, be demand for some more programmes. If you agree, I will inform Shri Narayan Desai that you are not accepting any other engagements.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

¹ Son of the late Mahadev Desai.

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New Delhi,
5th December, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of December 3rd. I shall abide by Vinobaji's wishes about the programme.

I agree with you that it will not be desirable for me to accept engagements in Ahmedabad or Sabarmati.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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Prime Minister's House
New Delhi.
December 20, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

You will remember my saying something to Vinobaji about Gramdan in Koraput. I enclose a letter from an M.P. about this matter¹.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

¹ A member of Parliament had made some complaints about Gramdan work in the Koraput district of Orissa.

December 23, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your letter of December 20, together with a letter from an M.P. about Gramdan in Koraput. I have sent a copy of the letter to Shri Anna Saheb Sahasrabudhe, Secretary of the Sarva Seva Sangh, who is in charge of the Koraput area. I hope he will take prompt action in the matter.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

New Delhi,
December 24, 1958.

My dear Panditji,

I have received a copy of "*A Bunch of Old Letters*" so kindly sent by you.

I may remind you that during your recent visit to Ahmedabad, Vinobaji had mentioned about the salt manufacture in Kutch, where contracts had been given to certain big firms instead of allowing smaller people to manufacture salt in a decentralised manner. You had asked me to note down this fact and remind you about this matter.

May I contact the Commerce and Industry Ministry in this connection ?

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

Prime Minister's House
New Delhi.
December 25, 1958.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 24th December. Certainly you can enquire

from the Commerce and Industry Ministry about the salt manufacture. I have also drawn the attention of Lal Bahadur¹ to this.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ The then Union Minister for Commerce and Industry.

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New Delhi,
22nd January, 1959.

My dear Shriman,

When I met Vinobaji, he spoke to me about licences being given for salt manufacture. I told him that I would enquire about this. On my return, I wrote to Lal Bahadur. He has sent me a reply, a copy of which I enclose. Perhaps you could bring this to the notice of Vinobaji¹.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Copy of letter No. 177-CIM 59, dated the 21st January, 1959, from Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Minister of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, to the Prime Minister, New Delhi.

Kindly refer to your letter No. 3205-PMH 58 of the 25th December in which you had written to me about the concern expressed by Vinobaji regarding big firms in Kutch being given contracts for salt manufacture.

After the duty on salt was abolished, a system of licensing was introduced. With a view to help the small-scale manufacturers, holdings of 10 acres or less, were exempted from the need to take out licences and are therefore free from any restrictions. Large-scale manufacturers, however, have to get a licence and as the production of salt now is more than adequate for our current consumption, we have stopped the issue of new licences. This means that while the small-scale producer can still take to the manufacture of salt, no new large firms can come into the picture. The only cases where any licences are granted are those which had been previously approved and for which the lease of land and other formalities had been completed prior to the imposition of these restrictions.

In the particular area round about Kutch referred to by Shri Vinobaji, I have had enquiries made and it appears that the Development Commissioner, Kandla Port, has apparently under a misapprehension granted leases of land measuring about 600 acres for the manufacture and collection of salt without consulting the Salt Department. Possibly this is the basis of the reports reaching Vinobaji. The Salt Commissioner has, however, declined to issue licences for salt manufacture to these parties and as our policy at present is not to give any licences for salt manufacture at this stage, virtually all new development is at present taking place in the small-scale sector only.

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February 5, 1959.

My dear Panditji,

I have already informed the Bhoodan workers that you have kindly agreed to receive one lakh acres of Bhoodan

lands at Yeotmal on the 18th April. I have asked some of the important workers of Yeotmal to meet me in Wardha on the 17th and 18th of this month to finalise the details about the programme. The annual meeting of the Hindustani Talimi Sangh will also be held in Sevagram on the 17th and 18th February and I have promised to attend these meetings. In fact, these dates were fixed in consultation with me.

Since the next informal meeting relating to the Third Five Year Plan has also been fixed for the 17th February, I am rather in a fix. I will be much obliged if it is possible for you to fix any date after the 18th February for the next informal meeting of the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

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Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.
February 5, 1959.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of February 5th.

The meeting of the Planning Commission was fixed for the 17th February after consulting Pantji, Morarjibhai and others. I think it will not be desirable for me to try to change it. The next day, there will be the Railway Budget, and then we get tied up with so many other matters. It does not much matter if you are not present at one meeting because there are going to be many such meetings.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

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MESSAGE¹

I send my good wishes to the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Ajmer.

¹ This message was sent to Shrimanji for transmission to the Sarva Seva Sangh which holds a Sarvodaya Sammelan every year in different parts of the country. The Ajmer Sammelan was attended by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, as Congress President.

Sarvodaya is an ideal. But it is good to keep this ideal in view. Acharya Vinoba Bhave, who is the embodiment of *Sarvodaya* and who has carried its message to innumerable villages of India, represents something that is vital in India's message. In the troubled world of politics, he stands out as a beacon which sheds light on the darkness which often surrounds us.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

New Delhi,
February 25, 1959.

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Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.
March 19, 1959.

My dear Shriman,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Aryanayakam. I know that you have included Sevagram in your programme for me. I do not quite know what I can fit in there that day. Could you please look into this matter and advise me ?

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
New Delhi.

Copy of a letter dated the 19th March, 1959, from Shri E. W. Aryanayakam, Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Sevagram, to the office of the Prime Minister.

We are happy to know that the Prime Minister is visiting Wardha on the 18th April on his way to Yeotmal. It is a long time since the Prime Minister visited Sevagram. The Hindustani Talimi Sangh has been carrying on the project of community development through basic schools in thirty villages around Sevagram. We would very much like to have the Prime Minister inaugurate the Third Annual Rally of the basic schools any time according to his convenience either on the 18th or the 19th morning. The programme would be to visit Bapu Kutli and then inaugurate the Children's Rally. We shall be happy if you can spare half an hour of his valuable time for this purpose. It will be a great inspiration for the villagers, teachers and children of the basic schools and the Sevagram Community to welcome the Prime Minister in Sevagram.

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26th March, 1959.

My dear Panditji,

As desired by you, I have written to Aryanayakamji and Shri Chavan about your Sevagram and Yeotmal programmes on the 18th April. I have also written to Bakhshiji about Vinobaji's

Kashmir programme. I will talk to him further in this connection when he visits Delhi for the N.D.C. meeting.

During the last session of the Parliament, an all-party Planning Committee had been constituted by you in order to raise economic planning to the national level. I do not think it has been possible to convene the first meeting of this Committee so far. The Rajya Sabha is not in session now and the Members of the Rajya Sabha who are Members of the Planning Committee may not be in Delhi at this time. Perhaps, it may be desirable to convene the first meeting of this Committee shortly after the N.D.C. meeting, so that representatives of other parties may feel that they are also being taken into confidence.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

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Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi
May 18, 1959.

My dear Shriman,

I received today a letter from Mridula Sarabhai with which she sent me a letter written by her for Vinobaji as well as other papers. I should like to send these on to Vinobaji, but I would rather not send them by post. If you think that some reliable person is going to Vinobaji, he could take these papers to him.

As Mridula asked me to read these papers, I have done so except that I have not fully understood the Gujarati letter, but all this is more or less a repetition of what she has often said.

With the letter is a note on *Personal Problems* and a second note on suggestions for the Kashmir tour programme of Vinobaji. He will no doubt deal with these papers as he thinks best.

I mention that Mridula's period of detention is for one year. That year will end on the 8th August, that is to say, about two and a half months from now. She will thus, in any event, come out of jail by that date.

Shri Shriman Narayan,
New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

21st December, 1959.

My dear Panditji,

I am extremely grateful to you for your card of good wishes for the Season and the New Year. The quotation from Gautama Buddha is, indeed, very significant and full of deep meaning¹.

May I convey to you through this letter my respectful greetings on the occasion of the new Year.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

¹ "A lamp possesses the unique quality of being able to light other lamps with its flame without losing any of its own radiance."

January 5, 1960.

My dear Panditji,

I received a telephonic message yesterday that Vinobaji will be about 15 or 20 miles away from Sirsa on the 9th and 10th January. I have also ascertained from the Civil and Military Aviation authorities that there is a good airstrip at Sirsa on which Dakotas and even Viscounts can safely land. If you find it convenient to meet Vinobaji on the 9th or on the 10th January before leaving for Bangalore, I could immediately get in touch with his Camp and make the necessary arrangements. You can leave by air some time in the morning and after talks with Vinobaji can return to Delhi in the evening. If it is not possible for you to spare a day, you can return to Delhi even by lunch time.

If, however, you do not find it convenient to meet Vinobaji at this time, a meeting could be arranged some time towards the end of January or early in February.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi
January 5, 1960.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of today's date. I am afraid I cannot go to Sirsa on the 9th or 10th as I shall be in Assam on those dates.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

March 22, 1960.

My dear Panditji,

I was in Rajpura yesterday and had the opportunity of meeting Vinobaji for a few hours. I gave him a gist of the discussions in the recent meeting of the National Development Council relating to the Third Five Year Plan.

According to the programme which was finally fixed up yesterday, Vinobaji will be in Sarvodaya Ashram (Headquarters of the Punjab Gandhi Smarak Nidhi) at Patti Kalyana on the 2nd, 3rd and 4th April. This place is on the main Delhi-Karnal road and is about 45 miles from New Delhi. I understand that you will be away to Rajkot on the 3rd and 4th April. I do not know if it would be possible for you to find time to meet Vinobaji for one or two hours on the 2nd April in the afternoon. If there is any possibility, kindly let me know as early as possible so that I may make the necessary arrangements.

After his stay at Patti Kalyana, Vinobaji will be crossing to Uttar Pradesh and proceed towards Indore via Agra and Gwalior. There is no likelihood of his coming again towards Delhi in the near future.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN NARAYAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi.

Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi
March 22, 1960.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of March 22. It is not easy for me to go a long distance from Delhi on the 2nd April, but I shall try to do so if I can manage to fit it in. I am engaged here in the forenoon on the 2nd April. How long would it take me to get there, stay there and come back ? I suppose this will mean about five hours at least. Perhaps I could start from here at about 2 P.M., returning at 7 p.m. Will that be feasible ?

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi.

New Delhi,
March 23, 1960

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your letter of March 22. The Delhi-Karnal road is a good broad road and it should not take more than $1\frac{1}{4}$ hours to reach the Sarvodaya Ashram at Patti Kalyana. If you start from here at about 2 P.M. and stay with Vinobaji for about 2 hours you can surely be back in Delhi at about 6-30 or 7 P.M. I do hope that it would be possible for you to fix up this programme on the 2nd April.*

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
New Delhi

*Pandit did go to Patti Kalyana on that day to meet Vinobaji. Shrimanji accompanied him.

New Delhi,
September 9, 1960.

My dear Shriman,

You will remember Vinobaji saying more than once that

science and spirituality should take the place of religion and something else in the modern age. I should like to know what his exact words were, both in Hindi and in English.

Yours sincerely,

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi

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New Delhi
September 10, 1960.

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your letter of September 9 which I received this morning on return from Wardha.

As desired by you, I am sending herewith exact words of Vinobaji in regard to his basic idea that science and spirituality should take the place of politics and religion in the modern age. I hope these extracts will serve your purpose.

I may, however, mention that the words in English are only a translation of his original language in Hindi. So far as I know, Vinobaji has not written any original article on the subject in the English language.

I am also sending herewith a cutting from *Bhoodan Yagya* dated the 15th April, 1960, containing his detailed speech on the subject in Hindi.

If you require any other material, kindly let me know.

Yours sincerely,

SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

"The times have changed. It is the age of science—not of politics. With the birth of nuclear power, the world has entered a new era. Politics and religion are on the way out, yielding place to spirituality and science".

(Extracted from *Tribune* dt. 1-4-60).

136

February 21, 1961.

My dear Panditji,

I am glad to read in today's papers about your speech in the Rajya Sabha yesterday in which you denounced communal

tendencies in the country in forceful terms. I, however, earnestly feel that this deep-rooted evil in Indian public life could be eradicated only if certain systematic steps are taken by the administration. For example, the Union and the State Governments should no longer tolerate communal or sectarian institutions at least in the educational sphere. To set a healthy example, I think, the Government of India should, without any further delay, delete 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' words from its own Universities at Banaras and Aligarh. If such a step is taken simultaneously in the case of these Universities, there is not likely to be much opposition from the general public. Even if there is some resistance to this overdue reform, it has to be faced boldly. The State Governments, in turn, should decide not to give grants-in-aid to educational institutions which are denominational, communal or sectarian in character. In a socialist society there should no longer be any room for a Jat, a Vaish or a Kanya Kubja College or High School.

I have already discussed the urgency of deleting communal names from the Banaras and Aligarh Universities with Dr. Shrimali and he agrees with my view. But unless he gets full support from the Union Cabinet, it will be difficult for him to go ahead with this much-needed reform. I would, therefore, earnestly request you to kindly take up this matter as early as possible so that some concrete steps may be taken to root out the canker of communalism from Indian society. The step suggested by me is only illustrative. It will have to be followed up by several other measures in our social and political life.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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New Delhi,
26th March, 1961.

My dear Shriman,

I have received a letter from Father Dominique Pire who visited India recently¹. As you probably know, he won the

¹ Please see Appendix 'F'.

Nobel Peace Prize. I enclose an English translation of his letter to me. From this you will see that he wants to have a full account dealing with the activities of Vinoba Bhave. Can you undertake to collect such material as is possible to send to Father Pire? This should be done soon.

You might communicate direct with Father Pire. His address is: 35, Rue du Marche, Huy (Belgium).

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
9, York Road,
New Delhi

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March 27, 1961.

My dear Panditji,

Thanks for your letter of the 26th March.

As desired by you I have today sent 16 publications on Acharya Vinoba Bhave to Father Dominique Pire by air.

In a day or two, I will send him copies of a few important articles which have been written recently on Vinobaji by several distinguished Indian as well as foreign friends.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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New Delhi,
March 30, 1961.

My dear Shriman,

I am so overwhelmed with work that I find it beyond my capacity to visit the Sarvodaya Sammelan at Chebrol in the middle of April. That is also a time when Parliament is sitting, and I just cannot go away again and again during Parliament

session. I am sorry for this. Please, therefore, write to Prabhakarji¹ and express my deep regret.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
9, York Road,
New Delhi

¹ A close associate of Gandhiji who lived in Sevagram Ashram for many years.

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March 31, 1961.

My dear Panditji,

I have received your letter of March 30 in which you have expressed your inability to visit the Sarvodaya Sammelan in the middle of April. Prabhakarji contacted me on phone two days ago and I told him that it would be very difficult for you to attend the Sammelan.

I have received a telegram from Prabhakarji which indicates that he would be reaching Delhi some time tomorrow. I will show him your letter and I am sure he will understand your difficulty in attending the Sammelan. However, you may perhaps like to meet him for a few minutes and also give him a brief message for the Sarvodaya Sammelan.

I am glad to find from the papers that the Congress Party in Parliament is initiating a proposal to ban communal parties in the General Elections. Perhaps, parties like the Janasangh would deny that they are communal in nature; but I think it would be necessary to take certain bold steps to root out communalism from our public life.

I had written a letter to you towards the middle of the last month about the desirability of dropping the communal names from the Aligarh and Banaras Universities. I don't know whether the letter could receive your attention.

I have sent some more material to Father Pire, including two recent photographs of Vinobaji.

With deep regards,

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

New Delhi,
March 31, 1961.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of March 31st. I shall try to see Prabhakarji when he comes here.

I should very much like to ban communal parties, but this is not an easy matter to deal with in this way. Anyhow, I am having it looked into by our Law Ministry.

We discussed once, in the Cabinet I think, the question of dropping the communal names from Aligarh and Banaras. In fact, we proposed doing so. But there was so much opposition to it, and some other difficulties were pointed out, that we dropped the proposal. Our country is full of caste and communal names in schools and other institutions.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi

April 14, 1961.

My dear Shriman,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th April. I am surprised and delighted to learn that you have written poems in English¹. I did not know this.

I enclose a brief message for the Sarvodaya Sammelan.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Planning Commission,
New Delhi

¹ Shrimanji had sent a copy of his book of English poems entitled, *The Fountain of Life* (Asia), with an Appreciation by Rabindranath Tagore and a Foreword by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Tagore wrote: "I am glad to read your poems the simple charm of which has attracted me."

Prime Minister's House
New Delhi

MESSAGE

I had hoped to attend the meeting of the Sarvodaya Sammelan

in Andhra Pradesh. I am sorry, however, that I am unable to do so.

I have not always agreed with some of the views expressed on behalf of *Sarvodaya*. But I have always attached value to them. They represent an approach which attracts me in many ways, even though it might not always fit in with some of the policies we have pursued. I think that this *Sarvodaya* aspect deserves to be emphasised. In this way it will help our own thinking and affect our policies.

We face complicated and tremendous problems in India, and it is desirable to examine them from all aspects. More particularly, it is necessary that we should not forget some basic values which *Sarvodaya* seems to represent.

I send my good wishes to the *Sarvodaya* Sammelan.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

New Delhi,
April 14, 1961.

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June 17, 1961.

My dear Panditji,

During my recent visit to Assam I met Vinobaji in a village in North Lakhimpur division and acquainted him in some detail with the current political situation in Nagaland. Earlier, I had discussed this matter further with the Governor of Assam at Shillong. Vinobaji agreed that he should think of visiting Nagaland only if he received a genuine invitation from the hostiles. So far, he had not received any such invitation.

Bhoodan and Gramdan work in the North Lakhimpur sub-division has been progressing satisfactorily. So far about 130 villages have been donated as Gramdan in that area. Vinobaji desires to carry on intensive work in this sub-division for another one or two months.

The hostile attitude of the Bengal Press towards Assam continues to embitter feelings between Assamese and Bengalis in the Brahmaputra valley. You will be surprised to know that on account of this bitterness even Vinobaji had to send away several Bengali members of his party including Ashadevi.

In the course of my discussion with Shri Shrinagesh about the Third Five Year Plan of Nagaland, I was given to understand

that the members of the Executive Council of Nagaland were not satisfied about the size of their Third Plan outlay. I, therefore, discussed this matter with Nandaji and we have decided to increase the size of the Third Plan for Nagaland by about a crore and a half. This will enable the members of the N.P.C. to approach their people with greater confidence and improve their programmes for education, communications and small industries during the Third Plan period.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

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New Delhi,
September 15, 1961.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of September 15th. I am issuing invitations to Nabakrushna Chaudhuri and R. R. Diwakar¹.

I thought that there would be little point in my inviting Vinobaji as I cannot expect him to undertake this long journey on foot. Of course, if there was the least chance of his coming here, I would gladly invite him. I would like you to tell him this. In addition, you might ask him on my behalf if he would care to send a note which I could place before the Conference.

Shri Shriman Narayan,
9 York Road,
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Invitations for the National Integration Conference convened by the Prime Minister.

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September 26, 1961.

My dear Panditji,

I am sending a note about the Code of Conduct for political parties which was suggested by Vinobaji in the course of his talks with you about two years ago¹. If I receive any other note

from him in connection with the National Integration Conference, I will send it on to you immediately.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

¹ Please see Appendix G.

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September 28, 1961.

My dear Panditji,

Shri Dhebarbhai who returned yesterday morning from Assam after meeting Vinobaji informed me that Vinobaji could not send any special note which could be used for the National Integration Conference. I have, however, been able to find out the gist of a talk which Vinobaji gave some time ago regarding the basic problem of emotional integration among the people of India. Some extracts from Vinobaji's talk are attached¹. They may be of some interest to you.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

¹ Please See Appendix H.

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Prime Minister's House
New Delhi
December 18, 1961.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 14th December. I wish I had time to look through your book and to write a Foreword¹, but I have been so overwhelmed with work, including new responsibilities, that I have been unable to deal with these matters. As, however,

¹ Foreword to Shriman Narayan's brochure entitled *Trends in Indian Planning (Asia)*.

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you are anxious to have my Foreword, I am sending you a few lines.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi

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Prime Minister's House
New Delhi

FOREWORD

My colleague in the Planning Commission, Shri Shriman Narayan, has written about a subject which fascinates me. I regret that I have not yet been able to read all that he has written owing to heavy pressure of work. But looking at the table of contents and glancing through other parts of the book, I find that he has touched upon subjects of considerable importance including some that have become controversial in our present day politics. It is all to the good that these subjects should be discussed fully even though one may not agree with any particular exposition of them.

It has often been said that the people of India have become Plan-conscious. I think this is perfectly true, even though many may not have a clear understanding of the meaning and the content of the Plan. Indeed, it is inevitable that we should proceed by the planned method. This is generally recognised all the world over.

It has been said that India's great experiment is a novel one. Planning is, of course, taking place in Communist countries. But to apply the basic principles of planning to a democratic structure of Government, and thus to have democratic planning, is certainly a new experiment, and the world looks upon it with great interest and hope. We in India who are endeavouring to tackle this problem are thus not only working for India but also in a larger world context.

Our problem is an immense one, our difficulties are very great, but I feel convinced that we shall succeed in overcoming these difficulties and making good. The experience we have gained

during the first two Five Year Plans has given us a measure of confidence and, at the same time, our experience and the material at our disposal have grown greatly.

I can hardly imagine a more exciting task than to be associated with the drawing up and subsequently the implementation of this great Plan which involves the future of 440 million or more persons. It has been our high privilege to have been so associated. But ultimately it is not the few members of the Planning Commission or others who have counted in drawing up these Plans, but the vast numbers of people in India who are engaged in implementing it. To them must go the credit, and to them also will inevitably go the benefits that accrue from the Plan.

I commend this book to those who are trying to understand our approach to planning.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

*New Delhi,
December 18, 1961.*

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December 27, 1961.

My dear Panditji,

I will be in Belgaum and Dharwar on the 13th and 14th of January to address the Karnatak University Planning Forum and a few other educational institutions in those areas. Would it be desirable for me to proceed to Goa as well for a day or two in order to make a preliminary study regarding a Five Year Plan for Goa which could form an integral part of our Third Plan? Perhaps, the visit by a Member of the Planning Commission to Goa at this time¹ might create a good psychological impression on the people there. In case you agree with this view, you may kindly give necessary instructions to the officers concerned so that they may make the required arrangements for my visit to Goa. One or two senior officials of the Planning Commission may also accompany me to study the economic situation at first hand.

With regards,

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
*Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi*

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

¹ Soon after the occupation of Goa by the Indian Army.

New Delhi,
December 27, 1961.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 27th. I would not advise you to go to Goa so soon. It is not possible to have any studies made about Five Year Plans at this stage. We should allow matters to settle down. This will take at least two months. After that, we may consider going there. I myself have refused to go there in the near future.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi

February 26, 1962.

My dear Panditji,

I have been studying for some time the procedure which is followed by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in making grants to private institutions in India. I find that in such cases the Government of India seldom comes into the picture. These Foundations may consult the administrative Ministries concerned before making grants to private bodies, but in a number of cases the Ministries do not even possess the necessary information. In this connection, I recorded a note to the Chief Economic Adviser a few days ago, a copy of which is enclosed. It is astonishing that even the University Grants Commission is bypassed and the heads of our educational institutions, including the Vice-Chancellors, try to humour senior officials of the Foundations in order to attract financial assistance.

It is significant that economic research which is conducted by several private institutions receiving donations from these Foundations tends to get biased in favour of private enterprise and is often loaded against our basic policies. I, therefore, strongly feel that the existing procedures for making grants to private institutions in India by the Ford and other Foundations should be carefully revised in order to keep at least our intellectual and educational life intact.*

*Necessary action was initiated in this matter by the Government of India.

I am also trying to obtain the necessary information about the use of P.L. 480 funds within the country.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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I have carefully studied the procedure which is followed by the Ford Foundation in making grants to private institutions in India. I strongly feel that, from several points of view, it would be desirable to regulate and control the flow of funds from foreign sources to private bodies through the Ministry of Finance, Government of India. I have seen at close quarters how the heads of our educational institutions, including the Vice-Chancellors of Universities, run after the senior officers of various Foundations in order to secure financial assistance for various programmes. In the context of the 'cold war' which manifests itself in a variety of ways, we should take special care to keep our educational and other cultural institutions out of foreign influences. If even our intellectual life in India is allowed to be 'corrupted' by either of the two Blocs, it would be a tragedy too deep for words.

I, therefore, think that this matter should be taken up with the Ministry of Finance, and, if necessary, with the Finance Minister himself. The foreign financial agencies should deal directly with the Government of India and all the funds to private bodies should be routed through the Ministry of Finance or other Ministries concerned.

SHRIMAN NARAYAN
23-2-62.

Chief Economic Adviser
Planning Commission

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New Delhi,
March 27, 1962.

My dear Panditji,

I returned from Cairo this morning after attending the Afro-

Asian Conference on Rural Reconstruction. About 20 countries of Asia and Africa participated in this Conference. I had the opportunity of addressing the Conference in regard to the progress of economic planning in India during the last twelve years. All the delegates evinced keen interest in the subject, and I, therefore, arranged to obtain copies of our Third Five Year Plan for distribution among all the delegates. I think we should establish closer contacts with Asian and African countries in regard to economic planning.

During my stay in the U.A.R. I visited the Aswan Dam, the site for the High Dam and the Kima Fertilizer Factory. I also spent a few hours in the Liberation (Taharir) province where about 75,000 acres of desert lands have been reclaimed for settling landless labour and small agriculturists. A good number of agricultural graduates will also be given land for cultivating orchards in this area.

The U.A.R. Government has already taken several important steps for creating a socialist and cooperative society in the country. They have nationalised all the Banks and Insurance Companies as well as Import trade. About 80% of the Export trade has also been nationalised. The Government is taking organized steps to keep the prices of essential consumer articles under check. I had detailed discussions about this matter with the Minister of Supplies and the Minister of Planning of the U.A.R. Government.

Last evening, before leaving for Delhi, President Nasser was kind enough to spare about an hour during which we had detailed talks about several aspects of economic planning in India as well as various developmental programmes in Egypt. I was surprised to find that President Nasser had been himself reading our literature on planning very carefully. He desired me to convey to you his warm greetings and regards.

I do not know whether any information has been received from our High Commissioner in Pakistan about the attitude of the Pakistan Government in regard to Vinobaji's *Padayatra* through the East Pakistan territory. I had requested Vinobaji to send for your information a copy of his tentative programme during March and April. A copy of his tentative programme is attached. His programme after the 5th April will be communicated to me

after some time. According to present indications he will reach the western border of Assam in the last week of April.

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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New Delhi,
March 27, 1962.

My dear Shriman,

Thank you for your letter of March 27. I am interested to learn of your talks and your experiences in the UAR.

I have communicated to our High Commissioner in Pakistan about Vinobaji's desire to pass through East Pakistan territory. He has promised to speak to the President of Pakistan about it. I have had no further reply from him.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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New Delhi,
April 4, 1962.

My dear Shriman Narayan,

I am writing to you about Vinobaji's suggested visit across a corner of East Pakistan. As I told you, I had referred this matter to our High Commissioner in Karachi. I am afraid the Pakistan authorities are very reluctant to agree to Vinobaji's trip "in these disturbed times".

The Pakistan Government is much worried about the general atmosphere and disturbed East Pakistan situation.

I think, therefore, that you might inform Vinobaji of the result of our enquiries.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi

April 22, 1962.

My dear Panditji,

When I met Vinobaji a few days ago in Assam I had fairly detailed talks with him about several programmes included in the Third Plan. A brief note regarding these talks is attached for your information.

You might have seen in the papers that Pakistan Government's unwillingness to allow Vinobaji to enter East Pakistan was reported to the Sarva Seva Sangh meeting by one of the Sarvodaya workers who had seen Vinobaji recently in Assam. This was rather unfortunate. I had tried to keep this matter confidential and had written to Vinobaji in sealed covers. Vinobaji has now decided to proceed to West Bengal and Bihar, unless the local constructive workers persuade him to stay in Assam for some weeks more. According to his tentative programme Vinobaji will reach Bihar towards the middle of June.

You will be glad to know that Vinobaji has so far received about 650 Gramdans in Assam. Shri R. K. Patil is helping Vinobaji to carry on intensive developmental work in these Gramdan areas in accordance with the State legislation which has already been enacted for the purpose.

Vinobaji is maintaining fairly good health these days, although his present weight is only 105 lbs. I found that Vinobaji's prayer meetings even in remote villages were very well attended. But there is dearth of constructive workers in Assam and Vinobaji is, therefore, finding it rather difficult to consolidate the good work which he has been able to do there during the last one year.

With cordial regards,

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Prime Minister's House
New Delhi
August 22, 1962.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 22nd August about Vinobaji's tour through

East Pakistan. I have passed on this letter to our Foreign Secretary, M. J. Desai. It hardly appears necessary for you to discuss this matter further with me. I suppose you will hear from Vinobaji after he has met the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan.¹

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Planning Commission,
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Please see Acharya Vinoba's letter addressed to Shrimanji in this connection in Appendix I.

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New Delhi
October 10, 1962.

My dear Panditji,

You will kindly remember that when I met you on the 2nd October I had made a reference to an article by Shri Rajagopalachari about the language policy. A copy of that article which appeared in the August 15 issue of the *Hindustan Times* this year is enclosed for your ready reference.

We have also to fix a date for the Golden Jubilee Celebrations of the Wardha Education Society which was founded by the late Shri Jamnalal Bajaj more than 50 years ago. You had tentatively agreed to inaugurate the Golden Jubilee Celebrations at Wardha some time during this winter. Any date convenient to you in December or January or even February would be suitable to us. I would request you to kindly indicate an approximate date for the purpose so that we may fix up our Wardha programme accordingly.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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New Delhi
October 10, 1962.

My dear Shriman,

Your letter of the 10th October with the article by Rajaji.

I am sorry, I cannot give you any firm date when I can go to Wardha. I doubt very much if I shall be able to go there this year. Perhaps it may be possible next year.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

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Prime Minister's House
New Delhi
December 2, 1962.

My dear Shriman,

I am sending you a letter for Vinobaji, which can be sent through his messenger. I enclose a copy of it for you to read¹.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
9, *Motilal Nehru Marg*,
New Delhi

¹ Please see Appendix J.

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New Delhi
January 3, 1963.

My dear Panditji,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter received from Vinobaji yesterday about Shri Lokman, a dacoit who had surrendered himself to Vinobaji on the occasion of his visit to the Chambal area. It is interesting to know that at the time of Vinobaji's visit to this area, Shri Lokman was in Bombay and came all the way to Gwalior to surrender himself.

Vinobaji has, indeed, been very unhappy that the cases of the dacoits who had surrendered themselves as a result of his appeal have not been handled by the U.P. and M.P. Governments with the necessary sympathy and imagination. These dacoits have been harassed and humiliated by the Police in many ways. When the prosecution cases instituted by the Police of one Government are over, similar cases are started by the Police of another Government. This has been going on during the last two years.

It appears that Dr. Sushila Nayar recently visited the Agra Central Jail and met Shri Lokman and his colleagues. She suggested that they might be released on parole. I have sent a copy of Vinobaji's letter to Shri Shastriji also so that the question of releasing them on parole may be considered sympathetically.

Shri Lokman and his colleagues have offered their services for the defence of the country. I understand that Shri Lokman is a first class shot and his services could be utilized either for defence on the borders or for imparting rifle training in Civil Defence programmes.

If necessary, I could see you at any time convenient to you in order to discuss this matter further.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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New Delhi,
March 11, 1963.

My dear Panditji,

It was reported in yesterday's papers that the Tata and Mafatlal groups have withdrawn from the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, because of the fact that Shri Shriyans Prasad Jain, who has been condemned by the Vivian Bose Commission for practising "fraud" on public funds, is going to preside over the forthcoming Annual Session of the Federation. I do not know whether you have taken a final decision about inaugurating this session as usual. There is a strong feeling among the public that the Prime Minister should not consent to inaugurate a function over which a person, who has been found guilty by a high-powered Commission, presides. It is true that your last-minute decision in this matter would shock the office-bearers of the Federation. But I think such shock treatment has now become very essential for toning up the economic and social discipline in our country. The people are prepared to pay high taxes and contribute their own share to the public exchequer for meeting

the emergency. But a proper climate for public cooperation can be created only if the Government makes it known to the people that it would no longer tolerate tax evasion and corrupt practices.

I was glad to read in the papers that you have again deprecated the unhealthy practice of senior Government officials joining private business soon after retirement. I had raised this matter about two years ago and you had kindly asked the then Cabinet Secretary to issue a Circular to all the Ministries. But I do not see any visible effect of the directive. Will it not be desirable to frame a definite rule that Government servants will not be allowed to join private business before the lapse of at least two years after retirement? Under the present rules, Government servants are expected to obtain the sanction of the Government before joining private service after retirement. But such permission is granted in almost all cases as a matter of routine. I think the Union Cabinet should take a firm decision in this matter soon.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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New Delhi
March 11, 1963.

My dear Shriman,

I have your letter of the 11th March.

I had promised some time ago to attend the meeting of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. Subsequently I gave thought to this matter again. I felt that I need not break my promise but that it would be better if I went there and spoke frankly about the Vivian Bose Commission's Report and the frauds practised on public funds. I think that I should stick to that decision.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

New Delhi,
19th April, 1963.

My dear Shriman,

I met again today Bishan Man Singh,¹ the very successful farmer from Fatehpur. He has been given some award and had come here for that purpose. As you probably know, he has paid a visit to the United States also together with other Indian farmers and he has been much impressed by what he saw there.

He laid special stress to me on the importance of soil conservation. We all know about it and talk about it, but he felt that, nevertheless, enough is not being done.

I think Bishan Man Singh is a man with experience and ideas and our Planning Commission and our Agriculture Ministry might occasionally consult him. He is now in Delhi and it would be a good thing if you could have a talk with him.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

¹ Shri Singh passed away early in 1966.

April 21, 1963.

My dear Panditji,

I received your letter of the 19th April today on my return from Madras. Shri Bishan Man Singh has been meeting me quite frequently and I have always found his suggestions very helpful. He is already a member of the Planning Commission's Panel on Agriculture and I have also nominated him as a Member of our Technical Committee on Soil Conservation. I will try to use his experience more fully for speeding up the soil conservation programme.

I was in Madras yesterday and had a chance of meeting the Governor Shri Medhi. He was quite worried about the Official Language Bill. He felt that your assurance to the Parliament that English would be recognized as an associate language after 1965 should be incorporated in the Bill. Otherwise, this will have an adverse effect even on the saner elements of public opinion in South India.

I hope it has been possible for you to find some time to go through my typescript on *Socialism in Indian Planning*. If there are any suggestions for improving the presentation, I would surely incorporate them in the final press copy.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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August 19, 1963.

My dear Panditji,

I have been reading in the newspapers about the Kamaraj Plan recently adopted by the AICC. Essentially, the Plan is a sound one and if a few top Congress leaders come out of office and assume definite responsibilities in the organization, it would be helpful in creating a healthier political atmosphere in the country. I have not the slightest idea about the decisions which you are likely to announce in this regard in the next few days. However, in the light of my experience of 6 years in the AICC and 5 years in the Planning Commission, I venture to place a few points for your kind consideration:

1. Any suggestion about your stepping down from the Office of the Prime Minister under the existing circumstances would be extremely harmful to national interests as well as to international trends of peace and disarmament. I have no manner of doubt that without your continued guidance at this critical juncture, India's prestige in world affairs will suffer greatly and the flow of foreign assistance for war efforts would be affected immediately.
2. The AICC should be strengthened by requesting Shri Kamaraj or Shri Lalbahadur Shastri to take up the Presidentship of the Congress. Two efficient General Secretaries should be appointed, presumably out of some State Ministers who have offered to resign and who possess good organizational ability as well as a sense of objectivity in organizational affairs.

3. What the people really want today is a clean and efficient administration. Nothing should, therefore, be done to disturb those Chief Ministers who have done well in toning up the administration. Their replacement by less efficient colleagues will not find favour with the general public.
4. I find from the newspapers that almost all the Chief Ministers and a large number of Ministers in the States have offered to resign in response to the Kamaraj formula. In consequence, all the State Cabinets appear to be in the melting pot and the administration is virtually at a standstill. I do hope, therefore, that final decisions will be announced soon. This opportunity may be utilised in reducing the size of the Cabinets in several States. It will have a good psychological effect on the general public.
5. In order to strengthen the State administration and organization the Centre should interfere in their internal affairs only when very necessary, more specially in cases of corruption. Such interference should be prompt and decisive. Ordinarily, however, the State leaders should be allowed to function according to specified democratic procedures. For example, it is difficult to understand why the Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh, is not being allowed to settle with his colleagues without any further delay and then seek a vote of confidence in the Congress Legislature Party under the supervision of an AICC observer. If he secures a favourable vote, he should be allowed to continue undisturbed till the next General Elections. Otherwise, a new leader should be elected through a secret ballot the same day. Drift and delay in these matters is highly injurious to administration as also to the Congress prestige.
6. One of the main reasons for the growing unpopularity of the Congress Government in States is the protection and patronage that is often extended to corrupt industrialists and businessmen largely because they contribute to Party funds at the time of elections. Businessmen, in the very nature of things, try to earn many times the funds given to the Congress through unfair methods.

It is, therefore, imperative to take even unorthodox measures to reduce expenses in elections. The Union Cabinet may appoint a Sub-Committee for the purpose and take final decisions soon in consultation with the Election Commissioner. I strongly feel that the establishment of a Socialist democracy in India on sound foundations would largely depend on our ability to bring General Elections within the means of poor but deserving candidates.

7. It is essential to reduce considerably the existing glamour for Ministerial positions. As soon as a Congress leader becomes a Minister, he moves from his ordinary house to a big bungalow. His family soon gets accustomed to a much higher standard of living and he, therefore, tries to stick to office through various undesirable activities including the organization of narrow groups within Congress Party.

A few positive steps may be taken to make the life of a Minister more simple and austere. In this regard, a definite lead could be given by the Centre. For example, all the Ministers, Members of the Planning Commission and senior officers could move into smaller houses or flats in New Delhi and the present big bungalows could be used for office accommodation. A large number of flats could be constructed in their big compounds to house Class III and Class IV employees who at present live many miles away from the main office and have to spend several hours and sizable money daily on transport.

I earnestly feel that several radical measures, both in administration and organization, will be necessary in order to meet the present national crisis effectively. Merely asking a few Ministers at the Centre or in the States to join the Congress organization may not serve the purpose adequately.

I desired to meet you and place these suggestions, for whatever they are worth, in person. But I did not like to take your valuable time when the Parliament is in session and a no-confidence motion has been tabled by the Opposition parties. So far as I am concerned, I need hardly repeat that my services are entirely at

your disposal for any type of work in the larger interests of the nation.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN NARAYAN

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August 31, 1963.

My dear Panditji,

I have received a copy of Vinobaji's recent speech in regard to the resignations of senior Congressmen from the Union and State Cabinets¹. The relevant extracts are enclosed for your information².

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

¹ Under the so-called "Kamaraj Plan".

² The gist of Vinobaji's speech was that Congressmen after resigning their positions in Government should not merely shift to the office of the Congress organization. Instead, they should actively work among the people, move especially for the uplift of the poorest segments of the rural population.

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September 11, 1963.

My dear Panditji,

I have received today an interesting and rather significant letter from Vinobaji¹ who is touring Orissa these days. Today also happens to be his 68th Birthday.

You, perhaps, know that Vinobaji had lost one ear several years ago. It appears that after his recent illness with high fever his other ear has also been affected. I had contacted Shri Patnaik in this connection and was given to understand that proper medical treatment was being administered. The treatment so far does not seem to have produced any tangible results.

¹ Vinobaji had made certain radical proposals for the solution of our border problem with China.

Vinobaji is very keen that the Gramdan work should be carried out in the country with a greater sense of urgency. Only yesterday Shri S. K. Dey and myself discussed this matter and decided to convene a high-level meeting some time in November to review the progress of the Gramdan movement and take certain concrete steps to intensify it at least in a few areas.

I propose to go to Orissa after a few days and meet Vinobaji. I had sent you some time back a copy of his speech in which he had given his reactions to the Kamaraj Plan. Kindly let me know if you would like me to discuss any other points with him. If necessary, I could come and meet you at your convenience.

With cordial regards,

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

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New Delhi,
September 11, 1963.

My dear Shriman,

Thank you for your letter of September 11 with which you have sent me a letter from Vinobaji.

I am sorry his ears are giving him trouble.

I have not yet read the speech of Vinobaji which you have sent me. It is lost in my papers. I shall find it out and read it.

Give my affectionate regards to Vinobaji and tell him that in spite of many developments that are troublesome, we are carrying on to the best of our ability.

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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November 21, 1963.

My dear Panditji,

I am sending herewith a copy of Vinobaji's post-prayer speech on the occasion of your birthday this year. I hope you will kindly find time to glance through it¹.

¹ Please see Appendix K.

Vinobaji will be in Orissa for about a month and will then attend the All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan at Raipur (Madhya Pradesh) towards the end of December. He is likely to reach Wardha some time in the middle of February. There has been slight improvement in his ear trouble and he has been taking vitamin pills for some time.

With cordial regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

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New Delhi,
November 28, 1963.

My dear Shriman,

You spoke to me some time ago about my visiting Wardha early next year for some function. I do not quite remember what the function or functions were or whether any approximate date was fixed for them. Kamalnayan Bajaj also spoke to me about these functions some time ago¹.

Today I have received a letter from the Mayor of Nagpur asking me to inaugurate the statue of Dr. Ambedkar at Nagpur. Dr. M. S. Aney brought this to me and pressed me to go there. He said that as I was going to Wardha or Sevagram, as announced in the press, I might perform this function at Nagpur about the same time.

As I am very vague about this proposed function at Wardha or Sevagram and it has not yet been included in my programme, I should like you to enlighten me about it.

Yours sincerely,
J. NEHRU

¹ Pandit Nehru had been requested to inaugurate the Golden Jubilee celebrations of Shiksha Mandal (Education Society), Wardha, which was founded by the late Jamnalal Bajaj. Shrimanji is still the General Secretary of this Education Society which runs several colleges in Wardha, Nagpur and Jabalpur.

New Delhi,
December 4, 1963

My dear Shriman,

I spoke to you the other day about my going to Wardha. I forget what we decided then. Could you please let me know ?

When I go there, I should like to spend a little time in Nagpur to unveil Dr. Ambedkar's statue there.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

New Delhi,
April 14, 1964.

My dear Panditji,

When I met Vinobaji at Wardha a few days ago, he wanted me to convey to you some of his views in regard to problems connected with China, Pakistan and Kashmir. I have been trying to meet you personally during the last few days. But as you are extremely busy, I am writing this letter in order to avoid further delay.

Vinobaji has studied all the literature that was sent to him in connection with the Colombo proposals. He is now of the definite view that we should agree to have direct talks with China on the border question if the Chinese Government agrees to withdraw the seven posts from the demilitarized zone in Ladakh. He feels that the absence of civil posts of both China and India from the demilitarized zone would be even better than the Colombo proposals which envisaged the existence of the posts of both countries in that area.

Vinobaji thinks that it would be possible to solve the problems relating to Pakistan and Kashmir satisfactorily if our dispute with China is solved early, of course, consistent with national dignity and honour. Delay in the solution of our border dispute with China will not be in our interest because in that case China would continue to occupy areas in Ladakh which are already under her possession and the situation would tend to get frozen.

As regards the problem of minorities from East Pakistan, Vinobaji had welcomed the meeting of the two Home Ministers. He

hoped that nothing would be done by India to encourage the migration of minorities from East Pakistan as this would create enormous problems for both the countries.

In regard to Kashmir, Vinobaji had conveyed to Sheikh Abdullah his advice that he should not make any precipitate statements without studying the present situation in all its aspects. Unfortunately, this advice has not been followed. Vinobaji was very clear in his mind that Kashmir should remain an integral part of the Indian Union and any talk of plebiscite or self-determination would lead to great complications, national as well as international. The question of granting reasonable autonomy to Jammu and Kashmir within the Indian Union could, of course, be considered. Vinobaji was totally opposed to any further division of Kashmir on communal considerations.

In case you feel that Vinobaji's presence in Delhi is necessary for personal consultations in regard to some of these problems, Vinobaji may not insist on a *padayatra*. If you feel like writing to him, he may agree to come by train.

I will be leaving for Japan on the 20th April to study certain aspects of their agricultural development, and will be returning to New Delhi on the night of the 30th April. If necessary, I could meet you at any time convenient before the 20th April¹.

With deep regards,

Yours sincerely,
SHRIMAN

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,
Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi

¹ Pandit Nehru had expressed a desire that Acharya Vinoba may make it convenient to come to Delhi to meet him for discussing various matters. But, unfortunately, that could not be possible.

Circuit House,
Dehra Dun,
May 25, 1964.

My dear Shriman,

I enclose a brief Foreword for your book on *Socialism in Indian*

Planning. I hope you will consider it adequate for the purpose¹.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Shriman Narayan,
Member, Planning Commission,
New Delhi

¹ This letter reaches Shrimanji's hands on the 26th May in the evening, soon after Pandit Nehru's return to New Delhi from Dehra Dun.

FOREWORD

I commend this little book to all those who are interested in the development of India and in socialism and Indian Planning. I have not read the whole of this book. Nevertheless, I feel that it is useful and will help people to take a broad view of our problems.

Socialism has become rather a vague word, with many meanings attached to it. In the modern world with its dynamism and its tremendous technological progress, it is clear that this concept of socialism itself undergoes a change, and yet its fundamental principles remain. In India, it is important for us to profit by modern technical processes and increase our production both in agriculture and industry. But, in doing so, we must not forget that the essential objective to be aimed at is the quality of the individual and the concept of *dharma* underlying it.

We are in the middle of our Third Five Year Plan, and already our Planning Commission is thinking of the Fourth Plan. It is hoped that by the end of the Fifth Plan, we shall become self-sufficient in many ways, and our progress will not then depend so much on external help. All this depends on how much we succeed in getting out of the old ruts and align ourselves with modern methods of production.

Some people think that our progress since independence has been slow. I do not think that this is correct. Considering the

background of India and her people, and the necessity of changing the social structure of the country, I think that the progress we have made is substantial. It has laid the foundations for future advance, and it has done so on a democratic basis. This future should be more rapid than the past has been.

Some of the readers of this book may not agree with everything that it contains. This is immaterial. The point is that we should look at the picture as a whole and in a comprehensive way, keeping the ideal of democratic socialism before us. This book should help them to do this. I commend this book to them.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

*Circuit House,
Dehra Dun,
May 25, 1964.*

LETTERS FROM VINOBA

(Original in Hindi)

Shriman,

Received your letter. The points raised by Patil¹ have in a way helped our work. At many places people enquired about them and I had the opportunity to explain everything. Some have the misunderstanding that Patil is against the *Bhoodan* movement. But there cannot be the slightest room for doubt about a person who long ago sacrificed almost all that belonged to him. The doubts that he has expressed about the distribution of land reflect his curiosity and his critical temper. The reply that you have sent sounds all right.

But Patil could have got a satisfactory answer to his queries without entering into discussion on the issue if he had only moved along with me for some time. We think of giving five acres, but in several districts of Uttar Pradesh a family having five members thinks that five *bighas* of land are sufficient. Moreover, there are families, with agriculture as their sole means of livelihood, which do not have even five acres of land. On seeing all this, one begins to think along new lines.

The day before yesterday I did some distribution of land. One request of the people was that I should present an example of ideal distribution. Though I do not propose to describe that scene here, yet it was something worth seeing for gods. I myself saw the lands that were donated. All recipients, donors and spectators—were so happy that they could not withhold their tears. The recipients assured us that they would cultivate the land properly and abide by our rules. To see is to believe.

Many who have been elected to the Parliament have good intentions. They have trust in decentralized economy and village industries, and they are keenly desirous of doing constructive work in a non-violent manner. But they fail to achieve much because they seldom find time to sit together to discuss things. Moreover, our Parliament is so fashioned as to render practical work a little too difficult. Some members do not even speak. Much, however, can be achieved by discussion if there be something of mutual interest.

¹ Shri R. K. Patil, who resigned from the Indian Civil Service during the 'Quit India' movement in 1942. He was a member of the Planning Commission for some years from 1951 onwards.

It is utterly wrong to form a group or party of one's own. But mutual love and identity of views can create a happy atmosphere in the Parliament, just as sugar sweetens the whole of milk. It is this tact or competence on one's part that the Lord has designated as *yoga*. I do hope this *yoga* would befit you.²

VINOBA

² Shrimanji was a Member of Parliament from 1952 to 1957.

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Manjhi (Patna),
7.10.52

Shriman,

Received your letter. I was delighted to read your article. You are perfectly right in thinking that 25 acres should be fixed as limit. These days many talk of 50 acres. This appears to me absurd and unrealistic.

Only those people who do not have experience of village life raise the controversy about small and big holdings. It is no use citing examples of the countries where people own extensive farms. I do not wish to become a party to this controversy. Those who choose to be unrealistic may well go their own way. It is enough if this fanciful attitude does not infect our national planning. I went through the circular addressed to the Congressmen and liked it¹. But directives should be issued keeping in view that many influential Congressmen are uncompromising in their attitude. They have considerable wealth and are not prepared to give it up wholly or even partly. That is why one circular gives rise to another without producing any result. This I have noticed in U.P. and am seeing in Bihar. Here I am directing my attack against it. Some are even coming round. I am demanding 1/6th portion only. One who himself does not give cannot induce others. Even so that circular will generate some momentum.

What is really needed is that in order to help our work the Congress Committees of those places should fix quota and work accordingly—this may accelerate the pace of progress.

While touring villages, I come in close contact with Congressmen and others. I get an opportunity to see them from close quarters. I do not see any point now in four-anna membership. A man gives hundred rupees and enlists four hundred members,

¹ In his capacity as Congress General Secretary, Shrimanji had issued a circular asking Congressmen to actively help the *Bhoodan* movement.

thus strengthening his position. This is all an open secret. No reform could be possible without sacrifice on the part of the members.

All this lies beyond my reach now; this is just by the way. But you are very much in it. See if anything could be done.

I have burnt my boats, and, therefore, I work unconcernedly. If it be a success, I will attribute it to God; even so, if it be otherwise.

Kishorelal Bhai and Jannalalji are now together in the other world: they must be enjoying Heavenly bliss there. We have miles to go.

I have not been keeping good health. But I should be grateful to my body for the service rendered by it in my work.

Do write to me about your experiences in the Parliament to which you have been elected; this will help me see things from more than one angle.

VINOBA'S GOOD WISHES

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Chandil (Bihar),
30.1.53

Shriman,

Received your letter dated 26th January. Today is Bapu's death anniversary. My heart is charged with emotion.

It is gratifying to learn that Panditji is emphasizing village industries. But there is an adage in Sanskrit that the hungry cannot eat the food of learning nor the thirsty drink the nectar of poetry. For the last five years village industries are not only on the decline but are being liquidated. I am an eye-witness to all this; moreover, I receive letters from different places bearing testimony to it. I received one such letter on the day I received yours. I am sending it for your perusal.

My health is gradually improving. Convey my blessings to the children and their mother.

VINOBA'S GOOD WISHES

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Gaya,
13.4.53.

Shriman,

Received your letter dated March 28. The telegram has not yet reached me. The *Bhoodan* conference organized by the

Members of Parliament has had a good impact throughout the country¹. I hope our work will gain some momentum from it.

Of late, the people in Bihar are getting more conscious. Having toured two districts after the Chandil Conference, I am now entering Gaya district. The quota of four lac acres of land fixed for the first instalment in Bihar is complete, and the second is in progress. A conference of the workers of Bihar will be held at Gaya on May 2 and 3. It is hoped that after this the workers will be engaged in the work all over the State.

If the legislators lend their cooperation, they can achieve a lot in their constituencies. It will be a good way of coming closer to the electorate. This should also be regarded as part of their duty.

My health is all right. I have decided to cover from 8 to 10 miles on foot. I generally reach my camp at about 7.30 a.m.

VINOBA'S GOOD WISHES

¹ Shrimanji had organized a meeting of Members of Parliament to enlist their support for the Bhoodan movement. The meeting was addressed by Dr. Radhakrishnan and Pandit Nehru.

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Gaya,
14.7.53

Shriman,

Received your letter dated July 5. I am in receipt of the booklet also¹. I see that you are doing whatever you can in the matter. There is lethargy in the country, and bitter feelings too. Much work could have been done in Bihar but for these two evils. But there is a pleasure in encountering difficulties.

I have read news about Agra in the papers, but am anxious to know more². Write in detail when you have time.

VINOBA

¹ Shrimanji had published a booklet on Bhoodan on behalf of the AICC Office.

² About Satyagraha in favour of Prohibition.

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Gaya,
13.10.53

Shrimanji,

Received your letter dated 8.10.53. Yes, the "Bill"¹ unnecessarily

¹ Bill regarding the setting up of a Khadi and Village Industries Board.

caused much fuss. But the responsibility is of the persons who initiate. However, this hardly needs worrying. It is now all over.

Shri Dey² has met me. He was enquiring as to how to get our cooperation. I told him that it should be agreed in principle that in the Community Projects the raw materials of the village should be turned into finished goods. I do not see any point in running Community Projects and *Khadi Gramodaya Board* on different lines. They should be coordinated and then only unemployment will go.

VINOBA

² Shri S. K. Dey, the then Administrator of Community Projects Administration.

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Patna,
28.10.53

Shriman,

I am sending reply to your letter dated October 20. Hard work is required to reform the Congress. There is no question of pessimism, but complacency will not do. The malady is serious. Labour franchise can be a means. If money is needed for the work of the Congress, it can be raised by donations. But the worker alone should have the right to vote. Today's four-anna-coin is not worth even one anna. Moreover, it is neither mentioned in the Constitution of the Congress nor it is practicable that four-anna piece should be the person's earning.

The hope to reform the Congress will be a mirage so long as there is no programme calling Congressmen to make sacrifices and establish *rapprochement* with the people. Today people speak of 'strengthening' the Congress rather than 'reforming' it. They should know that without reform there cannot be true strength. I am of the view that *Bhoodan* can be utilized for this work.

Here in Bihar I am trying to probe deeper. Success will depend on everybody's cooperation. People do understand my mission. I have decided to proceed further after completing the work in Bihar. I am not worried.

The Planning Commission talks vaguely. It raises hopes that there will be no need to import foodgrains after five years, but hesitates to take this pledge. It is, indeed, a pity. Planning with a programme that merely raises a vague hope of prosperity is a

kind of promissory note carrying no value. Grim determination is required to mobilize the people's will for any work.

You have now got the right place. You will be able to make impact if you practise humility along with firmness. Keep on informing me on diverse matters; it will enlighten me

One thing naturally occurs to me. That day Panditji recommended the use of Nagri script for the regional languages of India. I have been saying this for long, having learnt it from experience. I had immense difficulty in learning many languages due to their being written in different scripts, and I do not wish that others should experience the same difficulty. I think initiative can be taken in this matter by Hyderabad University. In Hyderabad State, besides, of course, Hindi and Urdu, three regional languages—Marathi, Telegu and Kannad—are current. If text books are published by the University in those languages in the Nagri script, then, much purpose can be served. This will help in promoting understanding and contact among the people of the State. Today, the separatist tendency is gaining ground. See how Panditji receives this suggestion.

VINOBA'S GOOD WISHES

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Patna,
17.11.53

Shrimanji,

Received your letter dated the 11th November. While writing about *Harijan* you have stated: 'We will never wish that this paper be allowed to die out'. I do not agree with this view. I do not think that institutions should be kept alive artificially. After Tilak's death *Kesari* is running its 33rd year. Its directors profess that it is following Tilak's policy. But, as a matter of fact, it has been gradually drifting away from its original ideology and has today become a completely reactionary paper. We must give up our attachment to institutions. There cannot be a more beautiful institution than the body, and yet we have to leave it too.

I do not feel inspired to write anything else today. I cannot write unless the urge comes from within.

As far as *Bhoodan* is concerned, newspapers are doing my work in all the Indian states. In Bihar the effort is to make *Bhoodan*

Yagya accessible to people in all the villages. Today 10,000 copies are being published, and its popularity is on the increase. I do not see much use of *Harijan* in this particular work.

If I feel inspired to write something creative and original, then people will know that I am not so naive as they suppose. I have my own views, and I do not think they will be palatable to many. Distance lends enchantment to the mountains.

VINOBA

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Patna,
24.12.53

Shriman,

Many intellectual forces are at work in the country. And as I am in direct contact with the public, I get an opportunity to study them minutely. Its result, as far as I am concerned, is that I am able to take an objective view of things and am constantly aware of the need for synthesis.

When we meet next, I will know so many things from you and will try to understand them.

I have sent my message for the inauguration of 'Gandhi Gyan Mandir'¹.

VINOBA

¹ Please see Appendix L.

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14.3.54

Shriman Narayan,

At last I have extended invitation to Panditji¹. You must have received that letter by now. These days I do as much thinking on the political plane as on the economic plane. But, basically, I have a religious frame of mind. As religion cannot be stable without economic equality, I have become used to economic thinking also. Now I see that if we adopt the Western methods of election, without modification, it will not be possible to mobilize all the forces against the poverty of the country. Therefore, I have started political thinking too. We will have to find a way to bring Congress, Socialist and all constructive

¹ For attending the All-India Sarvodaya Sammelan at Bodh Gaya.

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workers closer to us. For this, it may become necessary to depart from the commonly accepted political conventions.

This is my observation; but situations too will compel us to take this view.

I readily gave my consent when Panditji offered you the responsibility of the General Secretary of the Congress. It seems that there is the hand of Providence in it. The offer from Panditji came suddenly, and I too, contrary to my nature, readily agreed. I generally do not like anyone of my colleagues, believing in the *Sarvodaya* ideal, to get himself entangled in any political party howsoever major or important it may be. But in your case I gave my consent spontaneously, without thinking. It seemed that there was some design of God in fabricating a bridge.

What has attracted me towards you is your calm and quiet nature. One who can be so composed in youth will never be diffident in old age. May God strengthen this attribute of yours; this is my blessing. It would, indeed, be useful in eliminating differences.

VINOBA'S GOOD WISHES

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Chaumar (Gaya),
26.3.54

Shriman Narayan,

Received your letter. I also wish that instead of lectures in the *Sammelan*¹, there should be greater opportunity for personal contacts and mutual discussion. The programme that Vallabhaswami² has sent to you is not final. It will be finalized on your arrival only when everybody approves of it.

I was much hesitating to invite Panditji. It will now depend on you to make proper use of the opportunity. I am more used to listening than to speaking. And the little that I can speak is in a public meeting. In personal discussions I listen most of the time. But I have seen that Panditji is a good conversationalist. Had both of us been used to listening only, the job would have become really difficult.

VINOBA'S GOOD WISHES

¹ Sarvodaya Sammelan at Bodhi Gaya.

² A close associate of Acharya Vinoba, who was at that time the Secretary of Sarva Seva Sangh.

Shriman,

Received your letter dated May 9. I have read in papers the news about the Presidents of the Pradesh Congress Committees sparing time for *Bhoodan* work.

It is good that the Working Committee will discuss economic issues. It will be nice indeed if the Working Committee could present a comprehensive and detailed plan for village industries in the manner it did on the question of the medium of instruction. But, so far, I have received no indications that the leaders can do plain-thinking about it. Even so, I do not despair. The situation too is at work.

My health is all right. I have the good wishes of the people. The spirit of '*Jeevan-dan*'¹ is proving effective.

VINOBA

¹ Life-long dedication. At the Bodh Gaya Sammelan, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had declared himself as a "*Jeevan-dani*".

Shriman,

You and I met on the mental plane in the flooded region of Darbhanga. I am writing this letter for some special purpose. When I was at Kashi, a Vedic scholar, Shri Gopal Shastri Nene, met me. He is running there the All-India Vedic Institute. He sent a written proposal to me on behalf of its Vedic Brahmins requesting for land for the livelihood of the Vedic scholars engaged in the preservation of Vedic learning. I agreed to it on the condition that the Vedic scholars do the tilling themselves. The condition was acceptable to him. I have already spoken to Karanbhai.

After this Neneji met me several times and talked to me about the preservation of Vedic scholarship. According to him, there are today only 1,500 Vedic scholars in India who can recite the Vedas. This art is fast declining and it is also possible that after some years one may not find anybody in a position to recite the Vedas with proper accent.

You are aware that right from ancient times there have been constant efforts towards the preservation of the Vedic literature as a result of which there is nothing of the nature of textual variants

which abound in the case of comparatively recent works like the *Ramayana* of Tulsidas. God forbid, we may lose the proper art of reciting the Vedas correctly which has been preserved against heavy odds. It is our duty to show anxiety in this matter. So I suggested that by recording the Vedas we can in the modern times avoid this danger. Neneji welcomed this suggestion.

There are in all 20,000 verses in the Vedas. I think that 200 verses can be easily recited in an hour's time. At this rate, the recording will be of 100 hours. I have no idea of the expenses involved in it. But, whatever the expenses, I think it should be our duty to do this job. When it is convenient for you, talk to Shri Keskar and other concerned persons on this subject¹. The address of Shri Neneji is given below.

VINOBA'S GOOD WISHES

Gopal Shastri Nene,
Director, All-India Vedic Institute,
Raj Mandir, Banaras-1

¹ Shrimanji conveyed Vinobaji's proposal to Dr. Keskar who was, then, Minister for Information and Broadcasting. The Ministry did arrange for some recording of the Vedas.

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Parsoni (Darbhanga),
20.9.54

Shriman,

Received the reports on the floods and also your letter. The floods did not seem to me so great a calamity as the total unemployment of the people on these occasions due to the disintegration of village industries. The process of the liquidation of village industries goes on unabated, Five Year Plans notwithstanding.

VINOBA

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Thoria Sahi, Cuttack
5.6.55

Shriman,

Received your letters dated May 23 and 25. I am returning the French poem as desired by you. It is difficult for me to comment on the art of the poem. My knowledge of French was

put to test. I was able to follow the meaning with the help of the English version.

I received the article entitled '*Freedom First*'¹ also. I do not attach any importance to it. Our *yatra* (journey) continues as usual. I am getting more and more introspective. *Padayatra* increases thinking power. New horizons of thought are in sight. The sense of physical suffering is obliterated.

After Berhampore I do not propose holding any conferences. I have already said before the people all that I had to say. Now that chapter is closed.

VINOBA

¹ The article had severely criticized the *Bhoodan* movement.

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Jagdalpur (Koraput),
29.8.55

Shrimanji,

Received your letter dated the 16th, and also the two earlier ones.

Your mother left for her Heavenly abode on *Janmashtami*¹. It is true that no importance can be attached to dates of birth and death. But this too has its effect on naive people like us. I know of one instance when a man, who was almost dead and whose imminent death had been confirmed by the doctor, longed to die as a matter of faith on the *Poornima* day that was to fall two days later. The intense desire was fulfilled and he died only on that day.

I am glad that you have persuaded Congress Committees to take *Bhoodan* pledge. But decisions backed by action alone are praiseworthy. Otherwise, mere words do not satisfy hunger².

At the moment our *yatra* is very pleasant, but it is passing through difficult stages. The word 'but', however, is wrong, and should be changed to 'because'.

Twenty-five villages have been donated yesterday and the day before. Workers are busy in distant places in spite of torrential rains. It is apparently because Baba (Vinoba) has been all the time on the move. But he gets all the facilities, and the people all the inconveniences. When God wills anything, things shape themselves accordingly. He is beyond man's comprehension. But people

¹ Shrimanji's mother passed away on the 11th August, 1955 at Deoghar.

² Vinobaji quoted a Marathi couplet from Saint Tukaram.

sometimes doubt His very existence. On the contrary, I doubt the existence of the world itself.

VINOBA

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Hyderabad,
4.2.56

Shriman,

Received your letter dated the 29th January. I had received the earlier one also. It is gratifying to learn that many constructive workers are there in Amritsar¹. At this time I am in no mood to give you any suggestion. I am much pained by the happenings that came in the wake of the publication of the States Reorganization Commission.

To the items mentioned in the circular may be added the subject of personal contact with students.

I have felt not only much delighted but assured that you along with Madalsa will be with us for a few days in our *Yatra*.

Shri Dey met me. My *Bhoodan* mission is making steady progress. Some do this work sincerely; others do not. I do not worry about it. I have left all this to God. It would have been better if I had transferred to God also those worries which arise from things that have pained me. I must confess, it is here that I find my faith sometimes failing me.

VINOBA'S GOOD WISHES

¹ Shrimanji had convened a Constructive Workers' Conference at the time of the Amritsar session of the Indian National Congress.

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Unknown Place (Punjab)
21.2.60

Shrimanji,

Received your letter. Reminding him is not your job. He¹ has so many things to attend to. Here I am in an unknown place; this too is a difficulty. But I do meet him at my own convenience. This meeting, however, is on a higher plane which is no less real than the physical plane.

VINOBA KA JAI JAGAT

¹ Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

अज्ञात यात्रा. पंजाब

२१ . २ . ६०

रु.रु. रु.रु. मनजरी,

पत्र. मीला / याद

दीलाने का काम आपको करना
है नहीं चाहिए / अतः. पर
बहुत काम हैं यह तो है है /
अधर में अज्ञात-वास में हूं यह
अरे मुश्किल है / लेकिन सबसे
बड़ा कारण यह है कि अतः
मेरी सहूलियत के अनुसार मीला
है करता हूं / यह मीलन एक
दूसरे प्लेन पर होता है पर
कीजिएकल - प्लेन से यह कम रीयल
नहीं है /

दीनदत्त शर्मा

जय जय

Jabalpur,
17.11.60

Shrimanji,

Received your letter. I have three things to emphasize in my proposal:

(1) Railway employees were getting many facilities. My proposal is to give grains only to all the employees as part of their basic pay.

(2) It is proposed to do away with D.A. In my opinion it should continue. It will, of course, not be commensurate with the 'Index figure' and there will always be scope for complaining. But there will be at least some relief if people continue getting foodgrains. I will have no objection even if the receiver sells them.

(3) The land revenue from the farmer should be in the form of grains.

I am sorry that I am compelled to do something against vulgar posters¹. The education of children is pointless if such posters are not banned. I think it is an attack on the fundamental rights of citizens if their children are 'educated free' through these posters. My stay in Indore for one full month opened my eyes to the reality.

Yesterday, I received sprain in my waist suddenly, and today I had to reach my camp by car. It is all God's will. He who gives strength to undertake journeys in hazardous places incapacitates in plain fields.

I hope I will be all right in a day or two.

VINOBA KA JAI JAGAT

¹ Vinobaji conducted a public campaign against vulgar cinema posters.

North Lakhimpur—Assam
19.7.61

Shri Shrimanji,

You know that I have been travelling in villages for a couple of months. Here is a good climate for *Bhoodan*, and I am busy with the work. In view of all this, I was not able to get an opportunity to go and speak on the cinema and other subjects. But I gather

from the newspapers, which you too have indicated, that the Government has issued directives for censoring films as a result of which the film industrialists have started a crusade against the Government. I am pained by this news. You know that I am not against film industry; on the other hand, I think that, properly controlled and directed, it can be a good means of entertainment and education. As Ruskin has said, every industry should have the welfare of society as its aim. Profit motive is, of course, there. But it is unthinkable in the present scientific age that capitalists should run industries either by remaining indifferent to the general well-being or definitely working against it. If things do not improve it will become dangerous to allow this industry, which has a far-reaching effect on the general mind, to remain in the private sector. You know that I am not against the private sector. In the Sarvodaya Arithmetic, there would be 100% scope for the private sector, and also 100% scope for the public sector and 100% scope for both of them together. $100+100=100$, is an arithmetic which no university has recognized; but I have done so. It would, therefore, be a sad day if we are compelled to consider whether the cinema industry should continue to be retained in the private sector or not.

I do not hold orthodox views on what is decent and what is not, but I do want people to think on scientific lines. All my colleagues know that it pained me to raise my voice against obscene posters. But I was helpless. These posters are symptoms of a cancerous growth within. Along with posters, films and vulgar songs need censoring. I am glad that the Government is paying attention to it. My request to the film industrialists is that they should cooperate with us and help the younger generation of the country to grow strong and healthy.

You can release this appeal to the Press.

VINOBAKA JAI JAGAT

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Madhya Pradesh Yatra
6.1.64

Shri Shrimanji,

It is a very happy coincidence that Panditji has agreed to perform the inauguration ceremony of the Golden Jubilee of "Shiksha Mandal, Wardha"¹. The sense of service of Jammalalji and Jajooji

¹ Unfortunately, Pandit Nehru could not go to Wardha owing to ill-health.

श्रीनोब - नोबोस

जमशेदपुर

25. 2. 66

श्री. श्रीमनजरी,

आपका पत्र मिला। नेपाल में
मैं थोड़े दिन बीताऊ तो कअर हफ्टीओस
लाम. होगा, यह तो जाहिर है। अअर
दादा और देवेन्द्रभाअने अर असपर जोर
देकर मुझे लीथा है।

लेकीन अीनदीनों में बहुत गहरे
चींतन में हूं। 1916 में गृहत्याग करके
नीकला था। अस बात को पचास साल
हो रहे हैं, तो चींतन यह रहा है की
आगे जीवन का स्वरूप क्या होगा?
यान्त्रिक क्या होना अुचीत है। अथुल
कार्योका लोभ कहलक रथा जाय। अथा
हुआ समय कीतना है माअम नहरे।
असका अुपयोग अथुल के अजाय सूक्ष्म
में कीया जाना अुचीत है।
दीप्ता

मेरे चीत्त के चीत्तन करे
औस हावत में मैं नहीं कह सकता मैं
नेपाल में आ भी सकूँगा, और अगर आऊँगा
तो कब ।

औतन, नीरा, चीत है की मैं
अपने हर चीत्तन से कुछ नीरपाय करूँगा
नहीं । अंत में अंतर्यामी का जो आदेश
मिलेगा उसी को परमाणु मानूँगा ।

अभी रामकृष्ण वजाज के पत्र
के उत्तर में मैंने एक पत्र लिखा है ।
पत्र तो उनका व्यापार के दस्तावेज़ के
बारे में था । उसके अंत में मेरे अपने
वीथय में मैंने दो-चार वाक्य लिखे हैं ।
उसके नक़ल औस के साथ आप दोनों के
देखने के लिये भेजा है ।

नीरपाय दा
जय जय

gave birth to the Shiksha Mandal. Basic Education Conference was convened on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee celebrations. Such auspicious memories are associated with this institution. I do hope that its future progress would be in line with these traditions.

I am sorry it will not be possible for me to be present on the occasion. But I hope to be excused in the light of the fact that I am running a mobile “Shiksha Mandal”² all the time.

VINOBA KA JAI JAGAT

² Please see my article on *A mobile university*, in *One week with Vinoba*—Appendix M.

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Kadam Kuan
Patna—3
20.9.65

Shri Shrimanji,

Your letter of the 15th September. Also Madalsa’s letter. Yes, the unity witnessed at this time¹ among all parties and schools of thought is, indeed, unique.

My Bihar tour is progressing satisfactorily. The public mind appears to be quite responsive to the ideas of *Gramdan* and *Shanti Sena*.

I am myself eager to visit Nepal² and am conscious of the accruing advantages. But, “who knows about the morrow”? It is, therefore, not possible to extend any promise for the present.

I am in good health.

VINOBA KA JAI JAGAT

¹ At the time of Indo-Pakistan conflict.

² Where Shrimanji was India’s Ambassador for three years.

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Vinoba Niwas,
Jamshedpur,
25.2.66

Shri Shrimanji,

Received your letter. Obviously, it would be good from several points of view if I am able to spend some days in Nepal. Dada¹ and Devendrabhai² have also urged on me to do so.

But I am in deep contemplation these days. I had fled from my home in 1916. Fifty years have elapsed since then. I am, therefore,

¹ Acharya Dada Dharmadhikari, a well-known Sarvodaya leader.

² Shri Devendra Kumar Gupta, Secretary, Gandhi Memorial Fund, New Delhi.

seriously thinking about the pattern of my life in future, as to what would be appropriate. How long should I continue to pursue physical objectives? I do not know how much of my physical existence remains. It appears to me proper to utilise that time on the abstract rather than on the material plane.

In this state of my mental activity, it is difficult for me to say whether I will be able to visit Nepal, and if so, when. It is, however, certain that I will not take a decision in the light of my own thought. In the end, I will abide by the guidance of the Inner Voice.

VINOBA KA-JAI JAGAT

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Ranipatra
31.5.66

Shri Shrimanji,

Received both your letters. I had a recurrence of the fissure trouble. But it is now under control.

The *Yaksha* Questions¹ are among the priceless jewels. The *Mahabharat* is a mine of jewels. Since the epic is very ancient, there has collected some litter as well, and it is necessary to separate it.

I am glad to know that the health of your father is improving and that he is engaged in religious meditation even in this serious illness².

I have several times spoken on the *Bhajans* of *Vinaya Patrika*³. I have now edited an abridged edition, entitled *Vinayanjali*. It will be published within a few months⁴.

It may, perhaps, not be possible for me to visit Nepal physically. But I have been to Nepal emotionally several times, and I have great regard for this Himalayan Kingdom.

VINOBA KA JAI JAGAT

¹ Conversation between *Yaksha* and King *Yudhisthira* in *Mahabharat*.

² Shrimanji's father suffered a relapse and passed away peacefully on the 3rd July, 1966, which happened to be the *Ashad Poornima* day.

³ By poet *Tulsidas*.

⁴ Since published by *Sarva Seva Sangh*, Varanasi.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

AN ARTICLE BY MAHATMA GANDHI

‘The following is a free translation of Principal Shriman Narayan Agarwal’s letter in Hindustani from Wardha:

“In the Constitution that is being framed by the Constituent Assembly, there is to be provision for the election of provincial Governors by the majority of voters under the adult franchise system. From this one is entitled to infer that as a rule, the nominees of the Congress Parliamentary Board will be elected. The Chief Minister of the province will also be of the Congress Party. Common-sense dictates that the provincial Governor must be above the party politics of the province concerned, or above being unduly influenced by the Chief Minister or above friction between himself and his Chief Minister.

“In my opinion there is no necessity for a Governor. The Chief Minister should be able to take his place and people’s money to the tune of Rs. 5,500 per month for the salary of the Governor will be saved. Nevertheless, no provincial Governor should belong to his own province.

“Moreover, in this way the expense and worry of an election by the majority of the adult population will be saved. Will it not be proper and better for the President of the Union to select Governors satisfying the reasonable test above suggested? Such Governors will surely raise the tone of the public life of the provinces governed by them. It is worthy of note that the present Governors have been appointed by the Central Cabinet of the Union on the above basis and, therefore, their influence on their provinces has been wholesome. I fear that if the Governors are elected as visualized under the forthcoming Constitution, their influence is likely to be unwholesome.

“Further, the Constitution as foreshadowed makes no

mention of the village *panchayats* being the foundation of progressive decentralization in place of the old hunger for centralization. There are such other defects which one can profitably point out, but I have no right or desire to enter into an elaborate criticism of our seasoned leaders. I have but ventured to draw your attention to the defects which have appeared to me and demand your guidance.”

There is much to be said in favour of the argument advanced by Principal Agarwal about the appointment of provincial Governors. I must confess that I have not been able to follow the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly. I do not know the context in which the proposal under discussion has been made. But, examined in isolation, the criticism appears irresistible, with the exception that much as I would like to spare every pice of the public treasury it would be bad economy to do away with provincial Governors and regard Chief Ministers as a perfect equivalent. Whilst I would resent much power of interference to be given to Governors, I do not think that they should be mere figure-heads. They should have enough power enabling them to influence ministerial policy for the better. In their detached position they would be able to see things in their proper perspective and thus prevent mistakes by their Cabinets. Theirs must be an all-pervasive moral influence in their provinces.

Principal Agarwal says that there is no mention or direction about village *panchayats* and decentralization in the foreshadowed Constitution. It is certainly an omission calling for immediate attention if our independence is to reflect the people's voice. The greater the power of the *panchayats*, the better for the people. Moreover, *panchayats* to be effective and efficient, the level of people's education has to be considerably raised. I do not conceive the increase in the power of the people in military, but in moral terms. Naturally, I swear by *Nai Talim* in this connection.’

M. K. Gandhi

Harijan : December 21, 1947.

APPENDIX II

INDIA MUST NOT BE DIVIDED

I had the privilege of being with Gandhiji for a week during his recent trip to Calcutta. It was very tragic to find that the Bengalis who had so valiantly resisted the division of Bengal in the early years of this century were now mad after partition. "If there is to be Pakistan, Bengal must be divided," is their slogan. "But where is Pakistan?" asked Gandhiji. "Why do you regard Pakistan as inevitable?" The usual replies were: "Jinnah Sahab is adamant on Pakistan; he will surely have his pound of flesh! Oh, there seems to be no other way out!" "Why do you silently submit to all the tyranny?" interrogated Gandhiji impatiently. "Have you forgotten the technique of fearless civil disobedience that has been so successfully employed against the British?" But the people seemed to be in no fighting mood; they were overwhelmed with panic and a sense of utter frustration. Gandhiji was, indeed, deeply distressed to witness all this frustration and abject helplessness betraying a defeatist mentality.

And the pity of it all is that the Congress initiated the move for the partition of the Punjab and Bengal. Had we not been repeatedly assured by our national leaders that Pakistan was an idle dream and that it could never be established on the Indian soil? But the communal disturbances in Bengal and in the Punjab seem to have unnerved the people and, perhaps, even the leaders.

The very demand for the partition of provinces implies that we have reconciled ourselves to Pakistan. We should have firmly declared: "No, India shall remain one; no power on earth can divide her!"

Even the British Cabinet Mission, after patiently listening to all that Mr. Jinnah had to say in the matter, had definitely rejected Pakistan for very good reasons in their statement of May 16, 1946. In his recent pronouncements the British Prime Minister has also promised to abide by that statement. Why should we, then, take any step which renders the statement of May 16 out of date?

We are told that in their statement of February 20, the British Government has declared that, if necessary, power could be separately transferred to the existing provinces. It is argued, therefore, that Pakistan is inevitable. But such arguments ill befit a great organization like the Indian National Congress. If we could compel the Britishers to quit India, we can also tell them plainly but firmly: "No, India shall *not* be divided." And if Pakistan is forced on us, even then the nation must resist it with all the strength at its command by starting a country-wide mass rebellion.

It is hardly necessary to repeat that the demand for Pakistan is most illogical and absurd. I need not enumerate the reasons which are legion. Even the British Cabinet Mission pool-pooled it. But the Muslim League has been threatening to achieve Pakistan by 'Direct Action' which has now come to mean naked and inhuman violence. Have we not yielded to these threats by demanding partition of provinces? Are we not directly encouraging political *goondaism* by regarding Pakistan as 'inevitable'? If we could liquidate the might of British Imperialism, it should be a child's play to liquidate the bogey of Pakistan.

There would have been some sense in conceding Pakistan if that would have satisfied Mr. Jinnah once and for all. But he is deadly against the partition of provinces, and wants the whole of the Punjab and the whole of Bengal. And his ambitions do not stop at that either. His latest demand is for a corridor joining the Western and Eastern Pakistan Zones. Later on, corridors may be demanded for joining Pakistan with the Nizam's Dominions which may, sooner or later, become part and parcel of Pakistan. Thus, Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan would ultimately engulf the whole of India, perhaps, with the help of the neighbouring Muslim countries. The establishment of a sovereign Pakistan would be a constant threat to the defence of India. By hobnobbing both with the United Kingdom and the U.S.S.R., Pakistan may be able to create a very uncomfortable international situation for India. And, if unfortunately for us, the Tories succeed in capturing power at the next general election, a divided India would once again easily fall a prey to cunning British Imperialism.

Moreover, the demands for Pakistan and the partition of provinces are exercising a very unhealthy psychological influence all over the country. Many Indian States have already begun

thinking in terms of sovereignty. There are serious talks for the establishment of a sovereign Pathan State, a sovereign Baluchistan Province, a sovereign Rajasthan, a sovereign Maharashtra, an independent Dravidistan and so on. The Muslim League will also claim numberless "pockets" of Pakistan in the Hindustan areas. The logical conclusion of partition will ultimately mean the partition of districts, *talukas*, villages and even streets in cities. Are we prepared for all this? If not, we must resist the vivisection of the country with all the strength here and now. If not now, then never.

Fortunately for us, Gandhiji is still in our midst to guide us. He is definitely against both Pakistan and partition of provinces. We should seriously think a hundred times before disregarding his advice. There is yet time to ponder and decide. From one end of the country to the other, a powerful voice should be immediately raised against the vivisection of our country: *India must not be divided.*

Harijan, 1-6-1947

S. N. AGARWAL¹

¹ Subsequently, Shrimanji dropped the surname 'Agarwal' because, in his view, 'caste surnames were an anachronism in a socialist pattern of society.'

APPENDIX III

MY LAST INTERVIEW WITH GANDHIJI

I had to be in New Delhi on the 9th January 1948 in connection with a meeting of the All-India Radio Hindustani Advisory Committee. In the evening I went to the Birla House and attended the prayer meeting. There were a large number of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Bahawalpur that day. As Gandhiji walked to the prayer pavilion, these refugees shouted loudly: "Save Bahawalpur Hindus! Stop Muslim atrocities in Bahawalpur!" The whole atmosphere was very tense; there were several refugees who were half-mad and a few, perhaps, totally off their heads. They had lost all their family members and earthly belongings and attended Gandhiji's prayers for some help and solace.

After the prayers I went to Bapu's room and touched his feet. I had to discuss several problems with him relating to Wardha institutions. But Gandhiji appeared to be very tired and worried, and so I sat in the room quietly for a while and then took his leave that day. "I will be here tomorrow again, Bapuji," said I. "Yes, we will talk over a few topics tomorrow in the evening," said Bapuji in a low voice.

On the 10th January the attendance at the prayer meeting was quite thin. A few agitated refugees disturbed the meeting in the beginning and Gandhiji had to pacify them and make them sit down quietly after a sharp rebuke. He asked them to curb their anger and have patience for mere angry words were of no avail.

Speaking about the problem of decontrol Gandhiji very feelingly remarked:

"Some people tell me that decontrol is not beneficial to the public and that the reports that I receive are not correct. I am not a prophet. You should not accept a thing simply because I say it. You should use your own eyes and intelligence. Even if a thousand Mahatmas like me tell you a thing which your brain

does not accept you should reject it at once. You will be able to retain freedom and be worthy of it only if you behave in this manner.”

After the prayers I went with Bapuji to his room. Gandhiji looked into a few urgent papers, gave instructions to Shri Bishen who was then in charge of his correspondence and then asked me to walk with him in the room itself as it was sufficiently cold outside. For a few minutes I enquired about his health which had definitely deteriorated; his face had grown notably darker owing to great pressure of work and endless worries following the partition of the country. Later, we discussed several problems connected with the Wardha institutions. Speaking about the Mahila Ashram, Gandhiji said: “I am against accepting any Government grants for our constructive work; nor should we beg for money from the public year after year. The Ashram should follow the principles of Basic education and try its utmost to grow into a self-sufficient colony.” Pouring his soul about the future of Hindustani Prachar, Bapu observed: “So far as I am concerned, the partition of the country does not make the slightest change in my attitude towards the problem of Hindustani. The picture of future India before my mind’s eye is the same as before. I insist on the learning of Hindustani with both the scripts, Nagri and Urdu. India may have been divided politically and geographically, but from the cultural standpoint I refuse to recognise any division!”

We all know how Gandhiji pleaded with the Congress Working Committee not to accept partition as it would make confusion worse confounded both internally and internationally. And when the Congress did not listen to his advice and accepted partition at the June session of the A.I.C.C. in Delhi, Gandhiji passed restless days and nights. I had the privilege of staying with him at the Bhangi Colony for several days, and we could all note the remarkable change that came over him ever since the vivisection of the country. What is most noteworthy, he lost his sense of unfailing and genial humour after the deep shock of partition.

“Do you intend visiting Pakistan, Bapuji?” I enquired.

“Yes, I would like to leave for Pakistan this moment if I were in a position to do so. But how can I go to Karachi while Delhi is burning under my very feet? What shall I tell the

Muslims in Pakistan when I have failed to pacify the Hindus and Sikhs in Delhi?" Every word uttered by Bapu was soaked in sorrow and regret. His throat was almost choked with emotion.

"Bapuji, I know very well that you were deady opposed to the partition of the country. Still you advised the A.I.C.C. to accept the decision of the Working Committee. This act of yours has been misunderstood by some of your closest associates. If you had advised the A.I.C.C. otherwise, the whole history of India would have been different. This is what many people sincerely feel! Have your views undergone any change after the actual partition?" I asked.

"Not a whit," remarked Bapuji at once. "How could I change my views when I am daily seeing with my own eyes the consequences which I clearly visualised before vivisection? But I am sorry my attitude towards the Congress has been misunderstood. For the clarification of all let me state my views to you very clearly."

And then Gandhiji went on speaking sentence after sentence in a low but firm voice:

"I have always regarded the Congress Working Committee as the National Cabinet. The Cabinet of the Government of every free and responsible country has and should have the necessary authority to negotiate treaties with foreign powers. Otherwise, if the Cabinet is required to consult the Parliament on every issue at the time of important negotiations, all political work would be impossible. Under the present circumstances, the Working Committee has already accepted the partition of India. There are three parties to this treaty: the British Government, the Muslim League and the Congress. The Working Committee could not have consulted the A.I.C.C. which corresponds to the Parliament while delicate negotiations with the British Government and the Muslim League were in progress and the situation was so fluid from day to day. The Parliament or the A.I.C.C. has, therefore, no option but to ratify the decision of its Cabinet or the Working Committee. It may pass a vote of no-confidence on the Working Committee and ask the members to resign forthwith. But as a responsible nation, India cannot but ratify the decision of

its Cabinet. This is the constitutional position in very plain terms. If India does not observe this international procedure, the world would laugh at her. That is why I had, though most reluctantly and with the greatest regret, advised the A.I.C.C. to ratify the decision of the Working Committee regarding the vivisection of India. I could not have torn the Congress to pieces and make India the laughing-stock of the world.”

As Gandhiji uttered these words, he was full of deep seriousness. I think history cannot and will not be able to show a more remarkable example of a true democrat. Gandhiji was totally opposed to the idea of division. But he bowed his head to the decision, however wrong it may be, of the Congress which was, after all, an institution of his own creation :

“You do not know, Shriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through !” exclaimed Bapu looking towards me. “Each moment hangs heavy on me now !”

Gandhiji paused for a while and then continued in a low voice:

“Delhi today is burning with communal hatred and violence. The Hindus and Sikhs seem to have lost all balance. My appeals to them are of no avail. There was a time when my voice wielded magic with the masses; today it appears to have lost all its power !”

And, then, he said no more. We had been walking for about thirty minutes in the room. I had never intended to take so much of his valuable time. But that day Gandhiji poured out his agony in a tone which was altogether unfamiliar. Exactly at seven, Pandit Nehru entered the room; this was his daily programme. So I hurried to take Bapu’s leave and went into the adjoining room.

As I left Birla House that dark night, these words of Bapu continued to ring in my ears:

“You do not know, Shriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through !. . . Each moment hangs heavy on me now !”

I had been in close contact with Gandhiji for over twelve years. But I had never found Bapu in such a pensive mood. Nevertheless,

I could not even dream that the "heavy moments" would end so suddenly and soon, only twenty days after my last meeting with Bapu.

Gandhiji was undoubtedly great in life. He is even greater in death. But the world will remain poorer in his death for a thousand years.

—Shriman Narayan
From *The Tragedy of A Wall*
(S. Chand & Co., Delhi, 1963)

APPENDIX IV

VINOBA WITH NEHRU

On the occasion of his visit to Nizamabad in connection with the annual session of the Bharat Sewak Samaj, Shri Nehru decided to meet Vinobaji in Madhoraopalle, a village about 100 miles from Hyderabad. It was in May, 1955, that Panditji had met Vinobaji in Orissa at the time of the Berhampore session of the All-India Congress Committee. This meeting, therefore, gave an opportunity to the two personalities to exchange their views on different problems after a period of about ten months.

Panditji went by train to Jedhcherla and then motored down to Madhoraopalle village where Vinobaji was halting for the day. When Panditji reached the outskirts of the village he was greeted by a large crowd which had assembled there to get a glimpse of the great leader. Soon after, Vinobaji came out of his cottage and received Panditji. The two then greeted the crowds and requested them to disperse and reassemble at another place where Panditji would meet them before returning to Hyderabad. The two leaders then sat down in the outer verandah of the cottage and began discussing a number of problems of national importance. I had the privilege of being the only other person present during the talks which continued for about two hours.

To begin with, Panditji informed Vinobaji about the decision of the Government of India regarding Andhra-Telangana. An announcement in this connection was made by Shri Nehru on the previous day at Nizamabad. Panditji also acquainted Vinobaji with the discussions which were going on between the Government and the Akalis regarding the reorganisation of the Punjab. The idea of a Regional Committee or a Council was being worked out for both the areas. The two leaders had also some discussion about the situation in Maharashtra. Both of them were much pained at the conditions of violence and civil disorder prevailing in that area. Panditji, however, told Vinobaji that he had declared in the Parliament that he was always willing

to discuss various points to find out a satisfactory solution to the problem. He also informed Vinobaji about the latest developments in regard to the proposal for the merger of Bengal and Bihar. He said that he was very much disturbed by the attitude of students and young men in Bihar, Bengal and elsewhere. Their indiscipline and violent behaviour did not augur well for the future of the country.

The Congress President, Shri Dhebarbhai, was very keen that when Panditji and Vinobaji meet they should have a frank talk about Basic education so that it may be possible to make it the future pattern of national education according to a definite programme. I had already shown to Panditji the notes of my talks with Vinobaji on the subject. Panditji said that the Government of India had already decided to introduce Basic education throughout the country. But, there were many vested interests in the educational sphere which had to be dealt with properly and tactfully. Panditji humorously remarked that, perhaps, the vested interests in education were the strongest and the most persistent. Vinobaji had suggested that a large number of retired teachers could be persuaded to become teachers in Basic schools, in more or less, honorary capacity. They would be able to impart not only knowledge of different academic subjects but also pass on to the young students the fruits of their ripe and rich experience. Panditji said that he would welcome some good retired people to work as teachers, but he was not very much in favour of many such people becoming teachers in Basic schools because these people at an advanced age generally become static and may not be able to make dynamic experiments in this field. He also pointed out that under the Indian Constitution, Education was a State subject and various States naturally resent excessive interference by the Centre. It had been suggested that the University Grants Commission may exercise some pressure on the Universities for recognising the Basic educational system. Panditji thought that to exercise influence on the strength of financial help was not very proper. He was of the view that each State should have some freedom and elasticity in experimenting with Basic education. Any imposition of a rigid and inelastic system of Basic education would not be desirable at this stage.

Panditji was in full agreement with Vinobaji that the University degrees should not be the sole criterion for admission into

Government services. Students of Basic and Post-Basic schools as well as those who may not have taken any degrees should be allowed to take various competitive examinations for Government services on the strength of their merits and capacities. Panditji informed Vinobaji that the Government of India had appointed a Committee for the purpose and he was sure that it will be possible to take action on the recommendations of that Committee without much delay. The Committee had already recommended to the Government that except in the case of the IAS competitive examinations, University degrees should not be regarded as essential for recruitment to any other type of Government service. This will naturally give sufficient encouragement to the products of Basic Schools who acquire not only knowledge of different academic subjects but also gain valuable practical experience in various aspects of life.

As regards the question of having only one scale of salary for all the Basic education teachers, Panditji thought that this was essentially a financial matter because uniform salaries would mean a much higher salary for all teachers. Still, there was no doubt that every attempt should be made to reduce the economic disparities among Basic education teachers.

Vinobaji had been following the progress of land reforms in Bihar with keen interest. He felt that the Bihar Government should be able to persuade the State Legislature to adopt a very progressive measure inasmuch as Bihar had given the highest quantity of land in *Bhoodan*. He conveyed to Panditji his feeling that the Government of Bihar would be able to utilise the good atmosphere created by the Bhoodan movement for introducing radical agrarian reforms. I informed the two leaders that Nandaji was arranging to have a top-level discussion on the Land Reforms Bill in Bihar in the presence of the Congress President and other members of the Planning Commission, in order to find out the largest measure of agreement. Prominent leaders of Bhoodan movement in Bihar will also be invited to attend these discussions.

Vinobaji told Panditji that in his opinion the present system of elections was the root of many troubles. Elections should be direct at the base and indirect from the village upwards. I had already communicated Vinobaji's views on the subject in some detail to Panditji in the form of a note. Panditji agreed with Vinobaji that it was necessary to change the present system of elections. There

was some danger of corruption in the indirect system of election also. But various methods could be found to obviate this evil. Panditji thought that if the Government proceeded to change the entire system of elections just at present, other political parties in the country might misunderstand this move. The matter could, therefore, be taken up immediately after the next general elections.

After the talks were over, both Panditji and Vinobaji walked together to the neighbouring place where about five thousand persons had assembled to see both the leaders. As soon as the two great men ascended the dais they were loudly cheered by the people. Panditji told them that Vinobaji had started a great revolutionary movement and that it was the duty of all to help this movement to the best of their ability. As Panditji had to return to Hyderabad the same evening he spoke to the gathering only for a few minutes and then walked back with Vinobaji to his car. While taking leave of Vinobaji, Panditji clasped Vinobaji's hands and feelingly remarked: "Do take care of your health; don't overdo yourself." Vinobaji was visibly moved.

I stayed behind for about an hour to get Vinobaji's reaction about his talks with Panditji. Vinobaji was full of emotion and kept silent for some time. He, then, quietly told me: "It is true that I am overdoing myself. My physical energy is waning day by day. Formerly, I used to walk daily 10 to 15 miles. Now I cannot do more than 8 miles a day. I somehow consume 1,300 calories and that too in about a dozen feeds. But, while I discuss other subjects my mind is constantly fixed on achieving the Bhoodan targets by the end of 1957." And then he feelingly remarked: "For me it is a do-or-die mission."

—From *One Week with Vinoba*
(AICC Publication, 1956).

APPENDIX V

GANDHI'S GREAT HEIR

"Jawaharlal is my political heir. He may differ from me while I am living. But when I am gone, he will begin speaking my language." These were the prophetic words of Bapu, in the course of his memorable address to the A.I.C.C. at Wardha a few months before the historic August Rebellion. And it is, indeed, wonderful how Shri Nehru has changed remarkably after the passing away of Gandhiji. During his lifetime, Jawaharlalji had on many occasions to differ from Bapu, and differ violently even on the principle of non-violence. But today Nehru stands out like a solemn and shining tower as, perhaps, the greatest disciple of his Master. In a world which is weary of violence and hatred, Shri Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, is the only outstanding statesman who always delivers the message of Love and Ahimsa to the warring nations. His extempore address to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly will go down in history as a classical speech of Mahatma Gandhi's noblest disciple and "heir."

In handling internal situations, our Prime Minister has been showing notable patience and broadness of outlook even at the risk of being misunderstood. The way he has dealt with the intricate problems connected with Pakistan and Kashmir always reminds us of Gandhiji's life-giving and eternal message which might have been easily forgotten by a lesser leader. But Shri Nehru always seems to follow in the footsteps of his Master, almost intuitively and even in the face of grave risks to his own life.

It will be foolish to doubt his sincerity even for a moment. Those who sometimes feel that Jawaharlalji only pays lip-worship to Gandhiji, by so often mentioning his name for exploiting public sentiment, do not seem to know their Prime Minister at all. Shri Nehru may have any other fault or shortcoming, but not that of hypocrisy under any circumstances. It is simply unthinkable. His dignified sincerity is so noble and transparent that he who mistakes it for insincerity is surely a hypocrite himself. One may

not like his occasional anger and hot words, but to express the slightest doubt about his radiant sincerity would be almost criminal.

Shri Nehru is head and shoulders above us all; he is easily one of the most outstanding statesmen of the age. His deep scholarship, broad vision, innate goodness and lovable personality have already made him immortal. Even as the brilliant author of *the Glimpses of World History*, *An Autobiography* and *the Discovery of India*, his name would live through the ages. The first Prime Minister of Free India will be gratefully remembered by the coming generations as the great leader who successfully piloted the ship of Indian State through very rough seas and at a time when the very freedom of the country was at stake.

But, despite all this greatness and uniqueness, our Prime Minister is as simple as a child. He smiles and laughs like a child, frowns and frets like a child, jumps and runs like a child. His physical energy and untiring activity are also childlike. He may speak harsh and angry words, but he never harbours ill-will against anybody. When his anger, which he happens to inherit from his great father, cools down, he does not hesitate to apologise readily to the person concerned, without nursing any hatred or grievance. His childlike heart is full of affection for his people; it instantaneously revolts against injustice, inefficiency and untruth.

Nehru is, thus, rightly Gandhi's great heir in more senses than one. India is, indeed, fortunate in having him as her Prime Minister, or "the first servant" as Nehru likes to call himself. Nehru is a Man of Destiny, and India is a Nation of Destiny. May God give him health and strength to serve India for many years to come so that she might grow into a great and united country, shedding radiant light in the midst of surrounding darkness which threatens to engulf the very existence of mankind.

—This article by Shrimanji was published in the *Sixtieth Birthday Souvenir Volume on Pandit Nehru* in 1949.

APPENDIX A

A NOTE ON MY TALKS WITH VINOBAJI

During my three days' stay with Vinobaji, I discussed with him various economic problems for about ten hours. He was kind enough to cancel all other interviews and spare most of the time for me. I give below various points made by Vinobaji relating to the problems of unemployment, Community Projects and land reforms:

1. *Unemployment* : In the rural areas, unemployment and, what is more, under-employment could be solved only through the development of Village and Cottage Industries on a very comprehensive scale. The general principle of our industrial policy ought to be that the raw materials obtaining in a village or a group of villages should be converted into manufactured goods in the villages themselves, particularly those goods which are needed by the villagers for direct consumption. This means that processing and Agro-Industries like oil extraction, flour grinding, hand-pounding of rice, spinning and weaving of cloth, specially in the cotton-producing areas, gur making, etc. should be developed in the countryside to the largest possible extent. Such a process will undoubtedly affect the existing textile, oil, rice and sugar mills. But it is not necessary to close these mills altogether. As suggested by the Planning Commission, to begin with, certain varieties of products could be reserved for village industries. So far as textile mills were concerned, Vinobaji was of the view that the Spinning Mills need not be touched for the present. Only the Weaving Mills should be effectively controlled so that they may not produce those varieties of cloth which enter into unfair competition with Khadi and handloom weavers. Vinobaji did not mind if the textile mills were allowed to produce certain varieties of cloth which were primarily meant for export. So far as oil mills were concerned, only non-edible oils should be allowed to be manufactured by the mills; all edible oils should be left to

small-scale and cottage enterprises. Vinobaji felt that the All-India Khadi and Village Industries Board alone will not be able to cope with this difficult task. The Government of India will have to adopt a bold policy in this matter despite the natural opposition of the mill-owners. The store-purchase policy of the Government should also undergo a *visible* change for patronising the products of small-scale and cottage Industries.

Vinobaji was emphatic on one more point. He strongly felt that the village communities should have the power to regulate the inflow and outflow of goods in their areas. For example, if a village panchayat, with majority votes, decided that mill-made goods should not be allowed to be imported in the village, they should have the legal and constitutional power to implement this decision. At present, the village industries were being systematically uprooted by the inflow of mill-made goods. Vinobaji felt that, if necessary, suitable amendments may be made in the Indian Constitution as well in order to protect the rural industries from the unfair competition of the mills. He quoted two instances. First, the Madras Government had not been able to stop the import of mill-made saris and dhoties manufactured in Bombay and Ahmedabad with the result that the handloom weavers were suffering miserably. Perhaps the fundamental rights under the Indian Constitution stand in the way. Secondly, the Government of India had not allowed the Government of Rajasthan to ban the import of Vanaspati into the State with the result that the Ghee industry, which is an important rural industry, was being wiped out in Rajasthan also. Whatever may be the merits or demerits of Vanaspati from the point of view of health, it has to be conceded that it cuts at the very root of the Ghee industry in villages. Vinobaji, therefore, thought that not only States but even Village Communities should be endowed with necessary powers to regulate the imports of goods in their areas, specially from the standpoint of preserving the village crafts and industries.

As regards urban unemployment, Vinobaji was of the opinion that a number of small-scale industries could be started in the States for the benefit of the educated unemployed. But, to achieve this objective, the import policy of the Government of India will have to be reoriented. He saw no reason why a number of consumer goods which could be or are being manufactured in India should be imported from outside. The State should try to

help the educated young men to rehabilitate themselves through the establishment of small-scale industries by advancing cheap credit and helping the industries to market their goods. Besides, many other small-scale industries like fruit-canning, toy making, toilet goods, match-making, stationery manufacture, cutlery, crockery, etc. could be started. Vinobaji made a special mention of hand-made paper industry. He was of the view that if pulp was supplied in the cities by paper factories, making hand paper out of the pulp would be a source of gainful employment for both the urban and rural areas.

Of course, the system of education needs a radical change. Vinobaji is of the definite view that any further expansion of the ordinary type of schools and colleges imparting bookish education must be stopped forthwith. The Government should open more of polytechnics or occupational institutions. For example, instead of opening more medical colleges, it will be better to establish Ayurvedic institutions where knowledge of herbal plants and indigenous medicines may be imparted to the students. There is still good scope for such Ayurvedic *Vaids* in the rural areas. But the existing medical colleges are bound to train up doctors who will find it very difficult to get any employment. Similarly, the engineering schools and colleges, instead of concentrating only on large-scale machinery and industrialisation, should try to manufacture small machines and train up young men in the allied small-scale industries.

Vinobaji laid special emphasis on the development of *Palm Gur Industry*. There were millions of palm trees in the countryside which were not being tapped for the manufacture of sugar. If this is done, we shall not only turn out wealth out of waste but also divert lakhs of acres of land from sugarcane-growing to foodcrops.

2. Community Projects : Vinobaji was very critical about the Community Projects in Ranchi. He passed through the Community Project area during his recent Bhoodan marches. He was sorry to find that no officer connected with the Project ever cared to see him or inform him about the progress of the work. Although something was being done for developing agriculture through the distribution of better seeds, no attention was being paid to the problem of developing or protecting rural industries. Even though the Planning Commission had promised to Vinobaji

that Basic education will be followed at least in the Community Project areas, all the educational institutions in the area were of the old pattern.

Vinobaji also suggested that there should be very intimate relation between the Community Project areas and the Boards which had recently been set up by the Government of India for the promotion of Khadi, handloom, village industries and handicrafts. Schemes prepared by the Boards should be given the fairest trial in the Community Project areas. In these Projects more attention should be paid to compost manuring and the growth of medicinal herbs.

I asked Vinobaji whether Shri S. K. Dey had ever met him. I had suggested to Shri Dey several times that it would be proper to meet Vinobaji to secure his cooperation and support in the Community Projects and National Extension Service schemes.

3. *Land Reforms* : I discussed with Vinobaji a number of problems in connection with the Bhoodan Yagna movement. Miraben had raised a number of doubts. Vinobaji discussed with me all the points in detail and I shall write a special article on the subject. I impressed upon him the desirability of distributing the land collected through Bhoodan without undue delay. He is himself eager to do so, but certain legal difficulties stand in the way. He has, however, asked me to write out my definite suggestions in this regard. So far Vinobaji has been able to collect about 18 lakh acres of land out of which Bihar alone has contributed 11 lakhs. It is gratifying to know that the zamindars of Bihar are now actively working for Vinobaji and have promised to collect 32 lakhs of acres in Bihar alone by the end of March 1954.

As regards the question of fixing a ceiling on land holdings, Vinobaji feels that it may not be possible to achieve substantial results by doing so. If a fairly high ceiling is fixed, say 50 acres, comparatively small quantity of land will be available for redistribution. If a low ceiling is fixed, say 25 acres, the State Governments will have to pay substantial compensation. He, therefore, thought that speeding up the Bhoodan Movement was the best way to solve the land problem in India. His target of collection is 5-crore acres of land by the end of 1957 to be distributed among about 5-crore landless labourers at the rate of one acre to an individual or five acres to a family. He, however, felt that the idea

of fixation of ceiling on land holdings may also indirectly help in speeding up the Bhoodan movement.

SHRIMAN NARAYAN

2nd August, 1953.

APPENDIX B

Copy of D.O. dated 18th August 1953, from Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, Planning Commission, New Delhi, to the Prime Minister.

Will you kindly refer to your letter of August 17 concerning the question of ceilings on land holdings in the Delhi land reforms legislation? In the draft Bill as originally prepared, the Delhi Government proposed to make the ceiling applicable to groups of co-sharers shown in the record of rights rather than to individual co-sharers. The proposal was that if the number of co-sharers was 5 or less, the ceiling should be 30 'standard' acres; for 6 to 10 co-sharers it should be 40; and for more than 10 co-sharers, the ceiling should be 50 'standard' acres. It was pointed out to the Delhi Government that in applying ceilings the individual co-sharer should be the unit, as any other course involved risk of discrimination and injustice as between individuals. The Planning Commission did not object to the imposition of ceilings as such, but to the manner of their application. When the Chief Minister of Delhi met the Central Committee for Land Reforms on May 25, it was found that the Delhi Government had no data on which to apply ceilings on holdings. At the suggestion of the Food and Agriculture Minister, therefore, the Central Committee advised that the necessary factual information should be obtained and as soon as this was done, the question of imposing a ceiling on existing holdings and the manner of doing it should be considered. For this purpose, separate legislation could be promoted, the present legislation merely providing for ceilings in respect of future acquisition.

The Planning Commission has laid down a procedure for applying ceilings to existing holdings and it may be useful for me to state the position briefly, since a similar question cropped up recently in the case of the Himachal Pradesh land reforms legislation. The Plan recommended that there should be an absolute limit to the amount of land which any individual may hold. This limit should be fixed by each State having regard to its own agra-

rian history and its present problems. Data relevant to this decision should be obtained through a census of land holdings and cultivation. The Planning Commission hopes shortly to address the State Governments concerning this census.

In the meantime, it was recommended that each State should enact suitable land management legislation prescribing standards for cultivation and management and the obligations to be fulfilled by agriculturists. As a practical approach to the problem of large individual holdings, substantial farms which were directly managed by their owners were to be divided into two groups, namely, those which were so efficiently managed that their break-up would lead to a fall in production, and those which did not meet this test. For the latter category, the land management legislation should give to the appropriate authority the right to take over management of the entire farm or such portion of it as might be in excess of the limit for resumption of personal cultivation. The land so taken over should be given for cultivation to cooperative groups and to individual workers who, in turn, might be enabled to acquire ownership. These suggestions have been followed in the legislation which is now under consideration by the Hyderabad Legislature, and they were also communicated to the Delhi Government. I think the best course for Delhi would be to consider action along the lines recommended in the Plan.

APPENDIX C

Copy of letter dated 13th May, 1955 from Shri P. G. Pendsay, Press Attache, Embassy of India, Paris.

I have great pleasure in forwarding herewith a poem, written in three-colour ink (representing the colours of our national flag) in manuscript by Monsieur P. Perret dedicated to Acharya Vinoba Bhave. A translation in English of the poem is attached to the original.

M. P. Perret, who is an Assistant Station Master on the French Railways posted in an up-country town, has been a regular correspondent of this Information Post for the last two years. In view of the interest he showed in India we lent him books and publications, and placed him on our regular mailing list. He has now gradually, by patient reading, become very well informed on India. He started with being interested in Indian history only, but with our consistent encouragement he began studying developments in modern India.

Under the auspices of a local cultural society, Mr. Perret has delivered a number of lectures on India. On May 4, he delivered one on the history of India and showed the film: "Our Heritage" lent by this Post. On May 18th he will deliver another lecture on Modern India and show the film: "Planned Achievement".

Translation of a cutting from a local paper "Le Dauphine-Libere" (8-5-55) is enclosed and will give an idea of the impression created by M. Perret.

The above is to give an idea of M. Perret's background. We thought it would be a good idea if the poem he has written could be forwarded to Acharya Vinoba Bhave as a tribute paid to him by an ordinary Frenchman who loves India. Before the poem is sent on to Acharya Bhave, you may perhaps also like to put it up to interested people at New Delhi.

APPENDIX C—(Contd.)

To Vinoba Bhave

The previous evening, he had addressed the silent crowd
Of villagers, and reminded them that one should be capable
of giving
Not only the unnecessary but everything,
To those, who have nothing but hope.

Now, distributing the land
He gave new life to the great Indian hope,
And everyone who watched this, felt that Gandhiji was walking
again,
And smiled at the people he cherished.

Night has come again; and tomorrow,
When birds will be singing again in the fragrant dawn,
Like the river, which can never be stopped,
Vinoba will be on the road again. . . .

By P. Perret
April 1955

ENDS AND MEANS

The execution of Imre Nagy, former Hungarian Premier, and his associates has started a wave of protest and resentment in many countries of the world. Recent trends towards liberalisation and democratisation in the Communist countries had given to the people a hope that there will be far-reaching changes in their methods and techniques. But the sudden news about the trial, conviction and execution of Imre Nagy has shocked the conscience of millions of people throughout the world. It is being felt that the old methods of violence, hatred and terror are being revived in order to create a sense of fear and consternation. We have no intention of criticising any particular country or people in this connection. We only desire to bring out certain basic ideals which are involved in this tragic event.

In the very nature of things there are bound to be fundamental differences of opinion and ideology both among individuals as well as nations. But this does not and should not mean that there should be mutual hatred, conflict and organised violence to solve mutual differences. The doctrine of *Panch Sheel* in the international sphere lays down five principles for regulating behaviour among various nations following different systems of economic and political organisations. Similarly, there is need for mutual respect, cooperation and tolerance among individuals holding different views and opinions. It is now admitted on all hands that mutual differences can never be settled or solved through conflict and campaign of hatred. They can be resolved only through a process of friendly discussions, mutual understanding and cooperative endeavour. That is why Gandhiji always laid great stress on the purity of means for the achievement of noble ends. "The means," said Gandhiji, "can be likened to the seed and the end to the tree; and there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree." He also stated that "our progress towards the goal will be in exact propor-

tion to the purity of our means.” It is also wrong to think that this method of right means for the right ends is a slow method. Said Gandhiji: “This method may appear to be long, perhaps too long, but I am convinced that it is the shortest.” Prof. Aldous Huxley in his remarkable book entitled *Ends and Means*, has laid great emphasis on the same principle of employing noble means for the attainment of noble objectives. It is rather curious that Imre Nagy was condemned for holding the same opinion about the use of force and violence for the achievement of Communist ideals. In his dissertation *On Communism*, the former Hungarian Premier states that “development in building a socialist society is not attained by large-scale use of force, but by eliminating antagonistic interests in the social and economic spheres, by systematically decreasing the use of force to eliminate existing differences, and utilising democratic forms and methods in the interests of close cooperation on the widest possible scale with the masses of working people.”

Imre Nagy also held the view that the “Marxist theory and conclusions must necessarily change as time passes.” “One must keep in step with the rapidly changing economic, social, political and cultural situation.” This is the crux of the whole matter. Prime Minister Nehru has often remarked that the Communists in India are, perhaps, the greatest reactionaries in the modern world. They try to stick to dogmas and jargons which might have been useful some decades ago, but which are bound to be out of date in the context of existing conditions. Acharya Vinoba Bhave has also been appealing to the Communist friends to change their techniques and methods with the changing times and not to follow Marx with “closed minds”. Even Marx, observes Vinobaji, was not a Marxist. It is, therefore, necessary for the Communists to reorientate and transform the Marxist principles in accordance with the various trends and tendencies which are found in this Atomic and Space Age. It is quite evident that the modern world is increasingly veering towards the basic principles of mutual help, cooperation and tolerance through peaceful and non-violent methods. The forces of hatred, conflict and war are progressively yielding place to the forces of peace, brotherhood and humanism. Experience of the last two World Wars and the existing cold war clearly demonstrate the futility of the attempt to solve mutual differences through the piling up of armaments and

creating the psychology of fear and distrust. Lasting peace, happiness and prosperity can be achieved only through the cultivation of large hearts and broad minds which respect human personality and decide to solve all problems through persuasion and not coercion.

Karl Marx was, undoubtedly, an earnest thinker and philosopher who tried to suggest ways and means for eliminating the economic exploitation of man by man. But he could not have visualised the structural changes which the economic organisation has undergone through the last few decades. He could not also anticipate the development of democratic traditions in various countries of the world. His philosophy of dialectical materialism was based on the contemporary philosophies in France and Germany. If he had written his thesis in the modern times he would have surely realised the immense potentialities of bringing about social and economic revolution through peaceful and democratic methods. The science of Satyagraha as evolved by Mahatma Gandhi has opened out endless vistas which require close study and research. The *Bhoodan* and *Gramdan* movements of Acharya Vinoba have shown to the world that a non-violent revolution can be much more effective than a violent revolution. It is, therefore, essential that the basic principles of Marxism and Communism undergo fundamental changes in the light of modern experience and scientific thought. But to try to stick to old doctrines in an orthodox manner would be unwise and even suicidal. The ideas placed forward by Imre Nagy for "re-thinking" the theories of Marx cannot be suppressed or throttled by execution and physical extermination of Nagy. The proper method would have been to frankly and boldly discuss all the inherent contradictions of Communism and strike out new paths and procedures.

So far as the political and public life of India is concerned, we would very much welcome friendly discussions among different political parties in regard to the urgent need for evolving certain basic principles governing public life in India. India has always upheld the values of non-violence, peace and mutual cooperation. She has laid great emphasis on the purity of means and methods. We see no reason why all the political parties in India should not decide to stick to pure and peaceful methods for the achievement of their objectives. For example, all of us can take a decision that violence will never be used for the achievement of our political

programmes. If the followers of any political party fail to adhere to these basic principles and sometimes employ violent methods, it would be the responsibility of that political party to openly criticise its followers and take the necessary disciplinary action against them. The ruling party on its own part should also decide not to use violence in facing legitimate political movements within the country. If firing has to be employed on any particular occasion to meet a very difficult situation, it must be followed by a judicial enquiry as a matter of course. Such healthy conventions both on the part of the ruling party as well as the Opposition parties will be able to lay foundations of a stable and progressive democracy in India. Before trying to teach other countries about Gandhian ideals and techniques it is desirable that the Indian political parties begin by following the ideals of the Father of the Nation in shaping the public life of this country¹.

—SHRIMAN NARAYAN

¹ Published in the *AICC Economic Review*, New Delhi.

APPENDIX E

COMMUNALISM IN EDUCATION

A recent Conference of the Punjab College Teachers' Union has drawn the attention of the Central and State Governments to the fact that the agencies for imparting higher education in the Punjab are predominantly communal or sectarian in nature. In the course of a resolution, the Conference pointed out that such communal institutions do not fit into the conception of a secular State. "Factional and fissiparous tendencies seem to be growing in some of these bodies, resulting in the development of unhealthy tendencies in the students and even in the teachers." The Conference felt that immediate steps should be taken to check these unhealthy tendencies.

The Punjab College Teachers' Conference has done well in pointing out the evils of communalism and sectarianism in the field of education. It is generally pointed out that such communal educational institutions are established in order to draw charities and donations from those moneyed people who are particularly interested in furthering the economic and educational progress of their own communities or castes. We have, therefore, various institutions like a Jat College, a Vaish College, an Islamia High School, a Harijan Hostel and Arya Samaj or Sanatan Dharam College. It is true that under the pressure of public opinion such communal or sectarian educational institutions do admit students from different communities in order to give an impression that they are national and non-communal in nature. But the fact remains that the general atmosphere and the majority of students are communal in nature and these conditions tend to create a very unhealthy and narrow outlook among the younger generation. We must, of course, try to root out communalism and casteism from the minds of the general public in order to safeguard the foundations of lasting democracy in India. But if narrow casteism or sectarianism is allowed to infect the immature and pliable minds of the young boys and girls in our educational institutions,

we do not see much hope for the growth or evolution of healthy democratic traditions in our country.

In this connection, it is pointed out, and quite rightly, that the Government of India is also running under its direct supervision and control the Banaras *Hindu* University and the Aligarh *Muslim* University. Although, these Universities admit students from all communities and regions, the words "Hindu" and "Muslim", surely, leave a bad taste in the mouth and do no credit to our conception of a Democratic, Socialist and a Secular State. The general atmosphere of these all-India institutions of high learning also smacks of communalism. We fail to understand why it has not been possible so far for the Union Government to drop the communal names and infuse a national atmosphere into these two well-known Universities. There will always be some elements of reaction and narrow-mindedness in our public life. But it is high time that such reactionary forces were effectively prevented from infecting the minds and hearts of the future generations of India. When the Union Government decided to take a bold step in this direction, it will be comparatively easy for the State Governments to take similar actions in their own areas.

The fact of the matter is that economic considerations behind caste and communal institutions are only meant to be plausible arguments for protecting communalism and sectarianism in a subtle manner. We are not prepared to believe that the richer sections of our population are not willing to part with their moneys except for establishing caste or communal institutions. If a right approach is made to these persons in the name of national unity and integration, we are confident that adequate funds will still be forthcoming for expanding educational facilities in our country. If, however, enough funds are not available, it is much better to have a smaller number of healthy educational institutions which develop a broad and national outlook among the students rather than to have a larger number of communal and sectarian schools and colleges which poison the minds of the Indian youth and cut at the very roots and foundations of democracy and socialism.

At its last meeting, the Congress Working Committee had laid great stress on National Integration and Social Cohesion. It was only on the basis of the unity of India and the integration of the people that freedom was envisaged. In subsequent years, the

content of political freedom was enlarged and economic progress and equality progressively came within its scope. The great and revolutionary movements led by Gandhiji and the Congress were essentially based on these basic approaches. After Independence, the new Constitution of India gave statutory recognition to these basic concepts of our policy. The Congress has repeatedly emphasized this policy and has opposed communalism and all disruptive tendencies and has laboured for the full integration of our people with equal rights and opportunities for all. It is only on this basis that freedom of India can be preserved and enlarged. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to resist and effectively check communalism, sectarianism and casteism which are essentially the forces of reaction and disintegration. The resolution of the Working Committee stated that "the people of India can only serve the cause of their own freedom and progress as well as the cause of world peace by strengthening the unity of India and basing it on the integration and social cohesion of all our people." This wish can be translated into action only by facing the problem of communalism in a bold and determined manner. The roots of casteism and communalism in India are quite deep and it will not be possible to pull them out by merely repeating noble and pious ideals. These evils have to be attacked at the very roots by a resolute and practical plan of action.

The economics of communalism and casteism is also clearly visible in the present system of granting financial assistance and scholarships to economically backward classes. At present, there is an unseemly race for being included in the list of backward classes in different parts of the country. There are, naturally, a large number of backward people in a poor country like India. But it does not follow that all the members of a particular class or caste which is classified as backward are necessarily poor, deserving economic assistance from the Public Exchequer. The Congress Working Committee has, therefore, suggested that the main criterion for giving financial help to a student should be the weak financial condition and not his belonging to a particular caste or community. The continuance of such assistance to caste candidates as such naturally tends to perpetuate caste divisions. We hope that the Government of India and various State Governments will consider this matter very carefully and revise the existing rules and regulations with regard to scholarships. The Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been recognised under the Indian Constitution as a special category for a specified period of time. They will, of course, continue to receive special consideration for some time more at the hands of the State. But, even in their case, we should try to bring about social and economic changes which would ultimately create proper conditions for the elimination of caste distinctions completely in course of time.

India today is faced with two dangerous trends and tendencies in public life. The first danger is that of the Communist techniques of class war and violence. The Communist objective of a classless society is, indeed, laudable. But the methods employed for the achievement of the ideal are absolutely wrong and, in turn, pollute the objective itself. The second dangerous trend is that of communalism. It is ugly and crude from beginning to end and tends to corrupt and disrupt the very foundations of public life. We have to steer clear of both these evils with firmness and determination in order to establish a democratic and socialist society of Gandhiji's dreams. In our view, it is the destiny of India to build up a classless and casteless State through non-violence, mutual tolerance and cooperative endeavour.

—SHRIMAN NARAYAN

(Published in the *AICC Economic Review*, New Delhi.)

APPENDIX F

Monsieur le President NEHRU

New Delhi

Dear Friend,

Ever since my return from New Delhi, I have been thinking much of your country and its problems, and I am firmly decided to be to your people at all times a devoted brother.

An opportunity, which in its kind is perhaps a unique one, presents itself to me today to bring to your country a very great international distinction. May I kindly ask you to consider what is following hereafter as being confidential. Only your Vice-President and Monsieur Lanza del Vasto, a French friend of Gandhi, are being informed about this matter.

Subsequent to a series of circumstances which I cannot explain, the candidacy of Vinoba Bhave for the Nobel Peace Prize—which I support with all my strength—is within reach of my hand. For this, however, I need an important and urgent help. In a month's time at the very latest I must be able to dispose of a complete and written documentation on Vinoba Bhave. Could you send me some studies which were made on his subject and could you let me have a report on him, drawn up by people who know him well ?

The non-violence and the economic and social results which are more or less great and which, at times, are more or less questionable, should be less emphasized therein than the value of the man. For here is a man who has given himself entirely to the task of peace—a bit like Doctor Schweitzer whose methods can be doubted from the medical point of view, but he was and is a man who has given himself unreservedly to the Africans.

Here, dear friend, is a fine work for peace which we can do together.

Please forgive me to call on you in this matter. I know that your heart will leap with joy.

Assuring you of my faithful amity which I ask you to share with your daughter, of whom I am keeping the best of souvenir.

P. DOMINIQUE PIRE

APPENDIX G

CODE OF CONDUCT FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

1. Political parties shall not use violent techniques to achieve their objectives.

2. If any person or group belonging to a political party indulges in violence, the party concerned shall condemn the action and restrain its own members.

3. The Government shall try its best to avoid recourse to firing by the police or military in connection with public agitations. If on any occasion the Government is compelled to resort to firing, a judicial inquiry should be ordered as a matter of course¹.

4. Political parties shall not set up candidates in the elections to Village Panchayats and Cooperatives, and shall restrain their members from making personal or partisan use of them.

5. Political parties shall not exploit educational institutions for furthering their political objectives.

6. Political parties shall not exploit students for agitational and partisan ends or divide the student community into partisan organizations.

¹ Pandit Nehru broadly agreed with Vinobaji's draft, but was doubtful about the advisability of ordering judicial enquiries in all cases of firing, as a matter of course.

APPENDIX H

ACHARYA VINOBA'S VIEWS ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION

“The redistribution of States in India on linguistic basis has obviously several advantages. There are, however, certain dangers which also must be guarded against. In ancient India, great men like Shankaracharya, even in early age, travelled to the farthest corners of the country in all directions with their philosophical and spiritual messages. When I was touring Jammu and Kashmir some years ago I found that there was a Shankaracharya Temple near Srinagar also. Shankaracharya established the four *Dhams* at Badrinath, Rameshwaram, Dwarka and Puri in order to bind India in strong cultural ties through the medium of Sanskrit.

“There have been in our country other saints also like Swami Shradhanand, Guru Nanak, Nam Deva of Maharashtra, Guru Govind Singh, Dadu and Gorakh Nath. All these saints migrated from their own regions to other parts of the country and identified themselves with the people of different areas. They learnt the National language, Hindi, and utilised it fully for establishing intimate contact with the people. For example, Nam Deva of Maharashtra went to Gujarat and Rajasthan and lived in Panjab for about fifteen years. His *Samadhi* is, in fact, in Panjab in Gurdaspur District. Guru Govind Singh lived in Maharashtra for many years and his *Samadhi* is to be found in Nander village. Gorakh Nath also wandered in many areas including Panjab, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Bengal. It is believed that he toured in Tamil Nad and Maharashtra as well. Dadu of Gujarat settled down in Rajasthan and wrote his poems in the Marwari language.

“In our own times Gandhi, Tagore and Nehru became all-India leaders because of the breadth of their vision and national outlook. It is difficult to find such all-India figures now. Gradually, our leaders are becoming more and more provincial and regional. This is not a healthy trend in our national life. Real national integration

could be developed only if some of our leaders are fully conversant with the national language and treat all parts of the country as their own. There should also be amongst us a good number of people who are prepared to migrate from our own regions and settle down in other areas for developing close and intimate links with the people. It is only in this manner that real national integration could be achieved. This cannot be done by merely passing pious resolutions and holding all-India conferences.”

Based on Vinobaji's
post-prayer discourses

APPENDIX I

Assam
19.8.62.

Shri Shrimanji,

I have decided to enter Pakistan on September 5. The following seven persons will form the party :

1. Baba¹
2. Mahadevi
3. Nalindi
4. Ashadevi
5. Jayadev
6. Bal
7. A Jeep driver

We shall keep as little of luggage as we can. But we shall carry so much as to preclude inconvenience.

I am not thinking of taking books for distribution. The controversial book² is not yet out. Even if published, I do not propose to take it there. I will keep a few books for my study. But I will not carry too many books even for this purpose.

As appears from Charubabu's telegram from Calcutta, the Deputy High Commissioner, Shillong, will come to see me. A worker here is about to leave for Shillong today. I am sending a letter to the Deputy High Commissioner through him with a view to finding out when he proposes to see me.

It is not being proposed to send anyone in advance of my entry for making preparations. One should trust God.

It is proposed to enter *Dhubri* region through a village called *Sonahat*. But this will be decided after my discussion with the Commissioner. We had come to Assam after crossing three districts—*Cooch Bihar*, *Jalpaiguri* and *Darjeeling*—in West Bengal. We shall, therefore, reach West *Dinajpur* district in Bengal after

¹ Vinobaji is affectionately called "Baba" by the Sarvodaya workers.

² *Essence of Quoran* edited by Vinobaji about which there was controversy in Pakistan.

crossing two districts *Rangpur* and *Dinajpur* in Pakistan. We will leave the matter about our camping and route to the Pakistan authorities. Everyday we will cover eight miles. Rains have set in. On the way we have to cross as many as four or five rivers, and may have even to stop at times. It is, therefore, not possible to decide upon our camping places right now.

September 5 marks the end of our one year and a half journey through Assam. We did whatever could have been possible. We leave the results to God. *Jayajagat*.

VINOBA

December 2, 1962

Dear Vinobaji,

Received your letter¹ dated November 28. Thanks. I was happy to go through its contents. By and large I am in agreement with what you have written. I have, therefore, nothing to write on that matter.

In my opinion our policy of non-alignment is correct and we should maintain it. It will help India and the whole world. Some people want us to abandon it and exercise much pressure. Consequently some others too get confused.

This is a very happy sign that unity has been achieved in our country. But the misfortune is that some people still talk along party lines in a way that may impair unity.

I too wish that there could be some provisional understanding so that we may get an opportunity for discussion as also some time to set our house in order. Even this is acceptable to me that our border problem may be referred to arbitration. But it does not seem proper to agree to this at the present stage when the Chinese army might be at an advantage. It is true that some people in the Parliament assert that there should be no talks between us. But this does not appear sound to me. Discussions may take place, but only when the climate is conducive for it.

I ardently wish you to come to Delhi, if possible. Your visit will enable me to hold discussions with you, and also strengthen us. I hope you will agree to come to this place whenever convenient.

Yours
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Shri Acharya Vinoba Bhave

¹ Pandit Nehru and Vinobaji always wrote to each other in Hindi.

APPENDIX K

Camp: Barpali (Sambalpur)
Orissa, 14.11.63

VINOBA'S PRAYER DISCOURSE

You know today is Pandit Nehru's birthday. All persons in India honour him. Even those who oppose him have a feeling of respect for him. This is indeed extraordinary that a man taking part in politics should command so much respect from his opponents. We are fortunate that we have in our country on the scene a man in whose leadership we have faith and for whom even the oppositionists have respect. After Mahatma Gandhi's death so much responsibility devolved upon Panditji. At that time some of his colleagues were still with him, for instance, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Some of them are no more and others have joined the opposition camp. We may, therefore, say that he is the lone survivor of his generation. He has a heavy burden of responsibilities on his shoulders. How has he managed it? The answer lies in the fact that he has taken recourse to certain principles and moral values and has been trying to abide by them.

It is a big thing if a man tries to abide by certain moral values in his personal life. But to conduct the affairs of a country along moral lines and to try from that angle is really something remarkable. First, he wants that poverty must go from India. I have had the opportunity of seeing him a few months ago. He and I spoke from the same platform. He stated categorically that there was nothing special about our conflict with China. We would deal with it. But the greatest problem of our country is poverty. It is our prime enemy. This is the objective Panditji has kept constantly before himself and that is why he is loved by the people. It is true that he has not been able to eradicate poverty nor even to lessen it. The population of India has increased. There was some increase in wealth and in produc-

tion also but it did not reach down the lower strata of society. I do not propose to discuss its reasons. I have dwelt on this subject several times. But there is no doubt that in his eagerness and enthusiasm to eradicate poverty from India he is second to none.

The other thing that Panditji has kept constantly before him is that India's efforts should be directed towards peace. Peace should prevail in the world and India should contribute her mite to strengthen it. That is why he has always stood for peace, so much so that when the question of conflict with China came up he did not abandon the idea of peace. You know that the Colombo Proposals were accepted. When these proposals came before us, I said on a few occasions that though they were not quite in our interest yet they should be accepted. That was my view and I made it quite clear. But I am not conducting the affairs of any country; I am a simple worker devoted to the people. Panditji's case, however, is different. He got the proposals accepted by the Parliament, even when it was not inclined to accept them. Even so, he exercised his influence which had its effect and the proposals were accepted. Today, as things stand, the atmosphere in India is conducive to peace. It is, indeed, a big thing to maintain composure in times of conflict. This did have its impact on the world.

In this connection, he had long ago told me one thing, viz. we had to increase our military strength against our will. That is why today we are increasing our military power, but we must not have animosity against China. He had said this repeatedly that we must not foster malice. It is rare to find a political leader saying this in times of conflict, specially when the country is at war. People must have no bitterness, nor ill-will; they should be fearless and free from malice at a time when their country is obliged to make preparations for war—thus says a political leader on whom rests the responsibility of running the government. I feel immensely comforted by this and get an idea of his high stature. Some people have said that we must nurse feelings of animosity against China. Military strength need not be increased; we will take assistance from America and others, align ourselves with them and thus achieve our objective. We will not be required to increase our military strength or impose additional taxes. It is enough to keep the momentum of hatred on. But Panditji came out with just the contrary opinion: it is against our will that we

have to increase our military strength; we have to be self-dependent in respect of defence, but we must not aggravate our malice.

I have advised people several times to be fearless and to have no ill-will against others. I have suggested to them to consolidate every village so that there may not be any need to increase military power. Our views are being disseminated without restriction and this accounts for the increase in *Gramdan*. If this gains momentum and if the *Gramdan* idea goes apace, the country will be strong and fearless. If we are able to muster this kind of strength, then naturally Panditji will have sympathy with our views.

APPENDIX L

THE MESSAGE¹

“It is, indeed, a matter of happiness that the inauguration ceremony of *Gandhi-Gyana Mandir* at Wardha is going to be performed by Panditji.

What *Gandhi-Gyana* actually is needs some thinking. The cult of self-knowledge had its beginnings in our country right from ancient times and its tradition has continued uninterrupted. Science too had its rise in our country but its tradition did not run continuously and in recent times science has developed in the West. It is the conjunction of self-knowledge and science which has given birth to collective non-violence. That is *Gandhi-Gyana*. It is my firm conviction that this alone will help the world. We can even plan paradise on this earth with its help. As hydrogen and oxygen form water, similarly self-knowledge and science constitute *Sarvodaya*, that is, the ideal of mutual help and cooperation.

I hope that *Gandhi-Gyana Mandir* will prove to be the focal point for this kind of community life, and the inconvenience that is being caused to Panditji will have its justification.”

VINOBA

¹ Vinobaji's message was read out to the vast assembled gathering by Pandit Nehru himself. In the course of his inaugural speech, the Prime Minister fully supported Acharya Vinoba's thesis that a combination of science and self-knowledge alone could lead to world peace.

A "MOBILE UNIVERSITY"

No one can fail to be deeply impressed by the fresh, original and rational approach of Vinobaji to almost all the important problems that face the world today. Although he has been on a walking tour in some of the most interior parts of the country, away from the din and turmoil of the cities, Vinoba manages to keep himself fully abreast of current problems through newspapers, books and interviewers. Far from being a "back number," he thinks in terms of the future in a perfectly scientific manner. In his student days, Vinoba was a keen mathematician and continues to be so in all his thinking. There is no vagueness about his ideas; he is as clear as crystal and as refreshing as the morning breeze. Besides his deep learning and versatile thinking, Vinoba has a vision and a mission which cannot but inspire those who go to meet him and talk to him. He is also a great linguist who has mastered almost all the modern languages of India, more specially the Southern languages which are of Dravidian origin. He likes to recite his prayers in the language of the region with a faultless pronunciation. During his tour of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, he used to recite the verses of the Gita in Hindi. In Bengal, Orissa and Andhra, he recited them in Bengali, Oriya and Telugu. He also knows several foreign languages including English, French, German and Japanese. He has mastered both Sanskrit and Arabic. His explanation for this wonderful capacity to learn many languages is that he had the opportunity of mastering his own mother tongue, Marathi. He believes that if a person learned one language fully well with its grammar and diction, it would be easy for him to pick up a working knowledge of other languages within a few days.

Vinoba does not believe in listless and cursory reading. Whatever book he takes up he reads and studies with thoroughness and even devotion. His study of *the Gita*, *the Upanisads*, *the Ramayan* and *the Holy Koran* is very deep, indeed. Of course,

he is well-versed in almost all the religions of the world. His "Discourses on the Gita" (*Gita Pravachan*) which he delivered to his friends in jail about thirty years ago have been published in all the languages of India and a few lakh copies of the book have been sold so far after his post-prayer meetings. Vinobaji attaches so much value to this publication that he agrees to autograph all the copies purchased every evening. He feels that a thorough study of the Gita would be helpful in developing all the aspects of one's personality. The way in which he has been explaining the full implications of the Bhoodan movement to the people during the last four or five years is, indeed, remarkable. His post-prayer speech each day is full of new ideas, illustrations and points of view. While elucidating his ideas on Bhoodan, Vinoba has been dealing with all the subjects that one can think of. He is a born teacher and loves his job almost passionately. He is never so happy and in his true elements as while teaching children, or explaining a new point of view to his audience.

Vinoba gets up early in the morning at 2-30 a.m. After his routine duties, he sits down for spinning. While spinning he also does most of his thinking for the day. At 3-30 a.m. the members of his party assemble for prayers which last for about half an hour. At the end of the prayers, the person in charge of the tour stands up and announces the next camp and the approximate distance. At the stroke of four-thirty Vinoba emerges from his temporary camp-hut and commences his morning walk. One person walks about fifty feet ahead of him with a hurricane lantern in his hand to lead the way. For a few minutes, Vinoba recites some Sanskrit verses from the ancient scriptures and is then ready for talks or discussions. These days, he generally walks about eight miles in three hours. On the way he halts for about fifteen minutes to take his morning feed of curds at 6-30 a.m. By the way, Vinoba has been suffering from duodenal ulcer for a number of years and lives mostly on curds. Sometimes he mixes honey with curds. If possible, he takes one boiled apple a day with a little cream on it.

During the morning walks, I discussed with him a variety of subjects including the Five Year Plans, Bhoodan and land reforms, Basic education, family planning, village industries and the new spinning wheel called the Ambar Charkha, casteism and communalism, and the Reorganisation of States. We also touched

upon various topics like the rationale of copyright, methods of stepping up Small Savings Campaign, the syllabus for the training of Congress workers, the code for policemen specially at the time of firing, and the tests to be prescribed for entry into Government services. Vinoba's left ear is rather weak, and so one has to walk always on his right. Even while walking, Vinobaji talks distinctly and in a sufficiently loud tone so that almost all the party members are able to enjoy the course of discussions.

To walk with Vinoba is to participate in the scholarly atmosphere of a mobile university. Vinoba's post-prayer speeches are highly learned discourses on current problems, though couched in a simple language which could be easily understood by the masses. All these talks to the people bear the impress of his original thinking unfettered by a set dogmas or jargons. His approach to all problems is highly rational, though below the surface, Vinobaji is a very sensitive and even emotional person. While referring to his Master, Gandhiji, in the course of his speeches, Vinoba is often so much choked with emotion that he finds it difficult to speak, keeping silent for some minutes at a stretch with tears flowing profusely from his eyes. Vinoba has also deep regard and affection for Gandhi's great heir Nehru and often refers to him during his talks and discussions. Though Vinoba may sometimes be critical of Nehru's views on economic matters he has great faith in Nehru's transparent sincerity and passion for truth and discovery. Nehru and Vinoba are, undoubtedly, the two foremost disciples of the great Master, complementing and supplementing each other. Nehru has shown a new and glorious path of international goodwill and cooperation in the direction of *Panch Sheel*; Vinoba has carved out a non-violent and Sarvodaya way for solving a very difficult economic problem like that of land redistribution.

In the course of his post-prayer speeches during my stay for a week in Telangana, Vinobaji told the villagers how they should try to develop their local institutions like the Panchayats as basic units of self-government. He reminded them that after the achievement of Swaraj they were now the real masters of the country and the Ministers and Members of Parliament and the State Legislatures were their servants in the right sense of the term. They should, therefore, learn to understand their own good and direct their representatives accordingly. Vinoba also

drew the attention of the people to the fact that Bhoodan was not merely the physical redistribution of land but also the creation of new values in life. In place of greed, exploitation and possessiveness, Bhoodan Yagna was teaching the general people the values of mutual help, cooperation, and self-surrender. Vinoba is now not satisfied with the donation of one-sixth of one's land or property; he desires that a person should surrender his or her all to the community and, then, thankfully accept from the community whatever is given back to him or her for minimum physical requirements. In place of *Dan* or donations, Vinobaji now uses the term *Samarpan* or surrender.

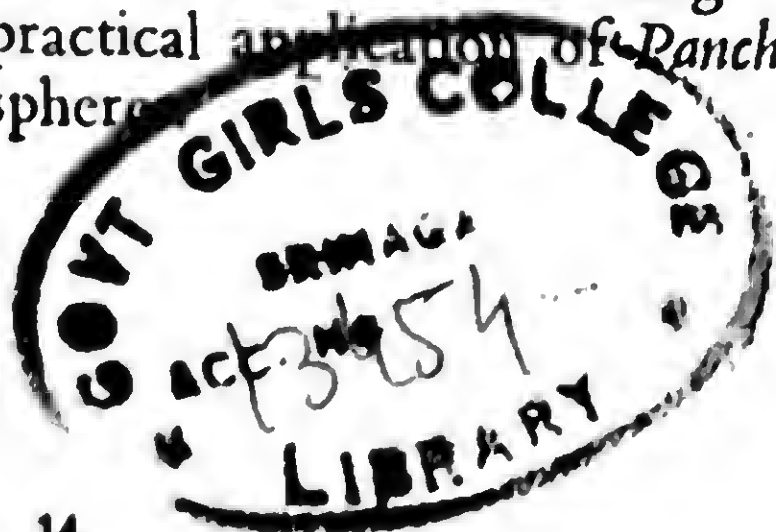
While Vinobaji walks through the village, the people stand on both sides of the road with perfect discipline, singing hymns and songs and reciting Vedic *mantras*. Vinoba does not like persons touching his feet; nor does he want people to waste their and his time in putting garlands around his neck. He directs them to give flowers and garlands into his hands. Sometimes he humorously asks the people to garland themselves on his behalf and then walks along. *Bhajan* and *Kirtan* troupes in the villages follow him for some time singing melodious songs to the accompaniment of rural musical instruments. Simple but artistic arches of green leaves and colourful flowers are erected to welcome Vinoba with real warmth and respect.

The great Acharya never misses an opportunity to drive home some moral ideas into the minds of the people. In one of the village camps, the people came forward to greet him with *Deepaks* or lamps with wicks and indigenous oil. "Do you know why the lamp has four or five wicks arranged in one artistic pattern?" He paused for a while and then himself answered in a serious tone: "In India the Panchayats have been regarded as the representatives of God himself. But this could be true only if the Panchayats work in harmony and in a team spirit. Just as the five wicks in the lamp give light and inspiration to us in a steady manner, so could the village communities be a source of social welfare and prosperity only if they work together in mutual aid and cooperation!" There is a new slogan which Vinoba has recently given to the villagers: *Ek bano, Nekk bano* or "Be united, be good!" This slogan is, indeed, the key to the lasting progress of our people not only in the countryside but also in the cities.

As Vinobaji reached a village after his morning walk, he was presented a guard of honour by the local students who were in Scout uniform with staves in their hands. Vinoba asked the boys: "What is the use of these staves?" The students did not know what to say. "Our teacher has asked us to keep them," was their routine reply. Vinoba would not rest content with that unintelligent reply. He said: "You should ask your teacher about the utility of the staff. I do not see any useful purpose in keeping it. In times of foreign rule people were asked to keep these sticks to threaten and beat others. But now they can serve no purpose in raising the standard of living of the people. Is it not better for you to keep brooms in place of the staves? The brooms could be used for cleaning your own house as well as the surroundings. Is it not so?" The boys as well as the elders who surrounded Vinobaji quietly nodded assent. Whether they were fully convinced or not is not the main point. Vinoba utilised the opportunity to teach the villagers a lesson in sanitation and in the futility of violence in a free and democratic country.

This is how Vinobaji moves from village to village imparting education to the people in a natural and practical manner. To the children of the villages he imparts ideal Basic education, to the adults a sound social education and to the visitors, both Indian and foreign, learned and original ideas on a variety of subjects. This "Mobile University," that Acharya Vinoba is, has been attracting a number of foreign students from America, United Kingdom, France, Japan and other Western as well as Far Eastern countries. Recently, some persons from the Soviet Union also visited Vinoba and took some photographs of various aspects of the Bhoodan movement. All these foreign visitors are naturally attracted to this unique way of solving difficult economic problems through love, persuasion and conversion of hearts and minds and not through class-conflict, coercion and even compulsion through legislation. Prime Minister Nehru is teaching the world the principles of *Panch Sheel* in international affairs; Vinoba is showing to the countries of the world the practical application of *Panch Sheel* in the social and economic sphere.

SHRIMAN NARAYAN
From *One Week with Vinoba*



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